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SCHILLER

S. D. STIRK

Das Schillerfest hat Anlass gegeben, Schiller für den nationalsten Dichter der Deutschen zu erklären. Er ist dies aber nur in dem Sinne, dass er seine Nation ganz, wie sie sich selbst, verläugnet und ihrem kosmopolitischen Zug, wie kein Zweiter, zum Ausdruck verhilft.

—HEBBEL.¹

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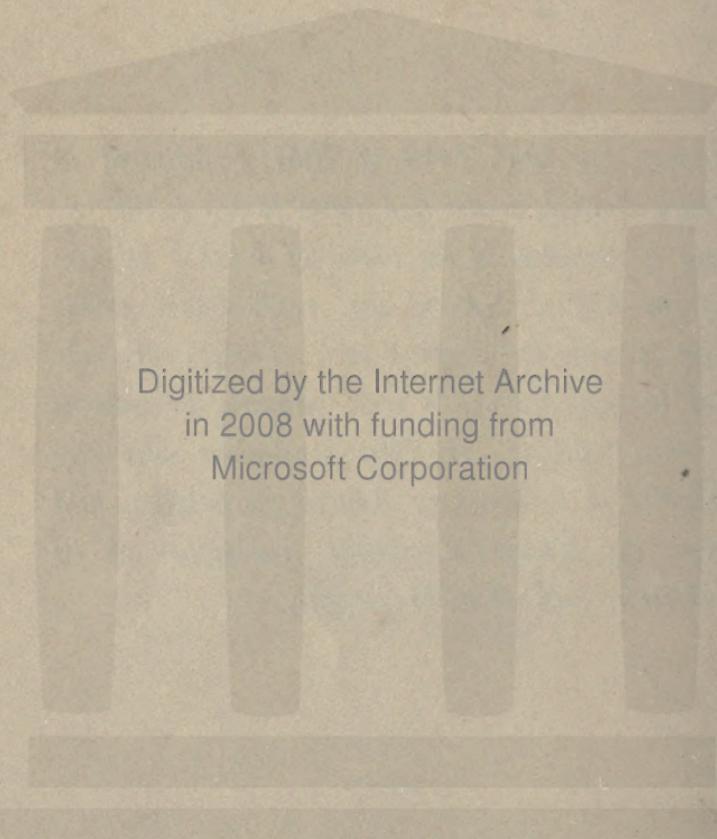
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DURING the Lent Term of 1904 I delivered at King's College, London, a series of ten public lectures on Schiller, in the course of which I set myself the task of defining the Anglo-Saxon standpoint towards the German poet. The present study may be regarded as, in some measure, the outcome of those lectures. Its chief conclusions were also embodied in a Centenary Address on Schiller, held before the Modern Language Association at its mid-winter meeting in Manchester.



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I.

SCHILLER'S FAME.

Grosser Männer bemächtigt sich stets die Sage : das Volk arbeitet ihr Bild nach seinen eignen Idealen aus. So ist Schiller fast eine mythische Figur geworden, und noch jetzt bemüht sich eine wohlge-meinte Pietät, ihn etwa nach dem Schema des Max Piccolomini, oder des Marquis Posa zu idealisieren. Schiller ist solchen Schimmers nicht bedürftig ; er erträgt das Tageslicht, ja er wird uns werther, je deutlicher seine Gestalt uns entgegentritt.

—JULIAN SCHMIDT (1859).²



SCHILLER'S FAME.

IT is rarely the case, at the hundredth anniversary of a poet's death, that a unanimous opinion has not been arrived at as to the position he occupies in his own literature and in that of the world. Only the very greatest, the writers whose power and influence are not bounded by centuries, have to be viewed from a wider distance, if their proportions are to be seen in true perspective; or it may perhaps be said that they alone, as the real immortals of a nation, are subject to the changing sentiments of later generations,—that, in their case, finality of judgment is unattainable. To this small band of the elect, the poet, whose hundredth "death day" falls on the 9th of May, does not belong; there is no reason why opinion should still be at variance with regard to his rank in literature. And yet, more widely diverging views are held about Schiller to-day than about any other poet of the eight-

teenth century. Outside Germany, it is true, Schiller is regarded with what might be termed objective indifference, and there would seem to be no obstacles to an unbiassed judgment of his work, say, in France or England; but indifference is itself apt to imply a lack of sympathy which is as serious a drawback as excessive partisanship. In Germany, on the other hand, there can be no question of indifference: by many of his countrymen Schiller is still extolled as the representative national poet, while others, again, regard him with antipathy, and even animosity.

The vicissitudes of the poet's fame form an interesting commentary on German intellectual and political life in the nineteenth century. During his lifetime, as may be seen from contemporary opinions,³ Schiller was not considered, in any special sense, the national poet of the German people; indeed, the tone adopted by his earlier critics, as compared with that of a generation later, is startling in its apparent want of respect. Schiller himself defined in frankly objective self-criticism his own position,⁴ and he died not knowing that the day would come when he would have a warmer place than Goethe in the nation's heart. The appearance of *Wallenstein*

at the very close of the eighteenth century first convinced wider circles in Germany that Schiller was a poet of more than average gifts; and the series of classical dramas from *Wallenstein* to *Wilhelm Tell* was hailed on every side as a safeguard against the threatened degeneration of the German stage, under Iffland and Kotzebue. But the acclamation was by no means unanimous; the younger generation of Romantic critics and poets, while recognising the positive merits of Schiller's work, felt instinctively that the world of thought in which he moved was different from theirs. Although profoundly influenced by Schiller, the drama was going its own way at the beginning of the new century, as an exponent of ideas that were not his: neither Kleist nor Werner could, in the strict sense of the word, be called Schiller's disciple; and in Vienna, not many years after the poet died, young Grillparzer expressed himself in no equivocal terms about his genius.⁵ Schiller's tragic death at the height of his fame awakened the personal sympathies of the widening circle of friends who had already been attracted to him as a poet. But, in general, it was felt between 1805 and 1813 that he was the poet of a passing age, and that

the German literature of the future would only have to reckon with him as a historical factor. In this epoch of political depression, Romanticism, abandoning the poetic Middle Ages to enter the service of the national cause, had become the leading intellectual force, and, whatever Schiller might be, he was at least not the poet for a Romantic age.

With 1813, the year of national revolt against foreign oppression, a fresh chapter was opened in the history of Schiller's posthumous fame; he was rediscovered as a patriotic poet, as the "poet of freedom," and *Wilhelm Tell* was enthusiastically hailed as a tract for the times. But the hopes of 1813 were short-lived; no sooner was the land freed from the yoke of Napoleon than it fell a victim to an even more hopeless inner thraldom, which made the realisation of political union more impossible than ever. Schiller, however, remained the poet of the dreamers of national liberty, the poet of the "Burschenschaften" or students' societies at the universities. An unfortunate consequence of this recognition of his political mission was that the more conservative element in the nation began to look askance at him, and the schism between "Schiller admirers"

and “Schiller haters” became acute, even at this early date.⁶

Apart from these considerations, the rise of Hegelianism and the passing of the Romantic ideals were both in favour of Schiller's popularity. As time went on, he rose steadily and rapidly in the nation's estimation; he gained the ground that Goethe was losing. The Hegelians believed that, as far as metaphysics and ethics were concerned, they had sufficiently improved on Kant to rule a mere Kantian like Schiller out of court; but Hegel's æsthetic system was deep in the poet's debt,⁷ and the philosopher's famous theory of tragedy, which for half a century influenced the European drama more powerfully than any single dramatist, had been framed as much with Schiller's plays in view as with those of the Greeks. The conception of the “tragic fate” as the essential element of tragedy, a conception which Ulrici and Gervinus forced like a strait-jacket on Shakespeare, is illustrated at every turn by the series of tragedies from *Wallenstein* to *Tell*, while, on the other hand, works like *Götz von Berlichingen* and *Egmont* are not tragedies at all in the Hegelian sense of the word.⁸ Thus Schiller rose in favour on the German stage;

the younger generation of dramatists drew nearer to him, and, ignoring the fact that Kleist had pointed out the way to a more national dramatisation of history than Schiller dreamed of, they fell back upon the old lines; *Wallenstein* rather than *Der Prinz von Homburg* was the model for the innumerable historical dramas of this period.

The writers grouped together as "Young Germany" were at first inclined to look contemptuously on Schiller's moral idealism; but in the end they were obliged to admit that moral idealism was more German than the frivolous tone of their own French models. They may not have found much in Schiller to their taste, but they at least showed him none of that antagonism with which they regarded Goethe; and, by degrees, Schiller was accepted by them as a convenient foil to the older poet. For this reason men like Börne and Menzel proclaimed Schiller *the* national poet, the poet who incorporated, as no other, German idealism and the national dream of freedom. And, as a consequence of this interpretation of Schiller's mission, another virtue was discovered in him, his pedagogic value: even before the Centen-

ary of 1859, Schiller was adopted by the German schoolmaster as a means of instilling moral principles, self-denial, and patriotism into the minds of his pupils.

It was thus only to be expected that when, in 1859, the hundredth anniversary of the poet's birth came round, he should be held in high honour; but no one anticipated the extraordinary outburst of popular feeling which the occasion called forth. The whole nation gave itself up to a glorification of the national poet that was unique in the history of German literature, and not without significance for the evolution of the new German Empire. There were, of course, dissentient critics like Hebbel, who felt keenly the un-German and cosmopolitan elements in Schiller's work, or like Otto Ludwig, who first expressed a definite critical antagonism; while among the more immediate moulders of popular opinion at the time, Julian Schmidt, at least, was able to regard the Centenary in a temperate, common-sense spirit.⁹ In Austria, where a more objective standpoint might have been expected, the enthusiasm rose equally high. Grillparzer, who by this time had withdrawn in moody

discontent from an active interest in the German theatre, had long recanted the heresies of his youth, and was satisfied to "stand where Goethe and Schiller stood."¹⁰ But doubtless not a few Austrians felt dimly, what only Ernst von Feuchtersleben had the courage to express,¹¹ that Schiller had become, like Lessing, a poet of the past, and that Grillparzer stood nearer to the life and thought of 1859 than he. These isolated voices were, however, completely drowned in the national jubilation.

But the real significance of the first Schiller Centenary was not its universality, but the premisses on which it was based. Not one of the arguments to which the generation of 1859 held so tenaciously would pass unquestioned to-day, and most of them require a historical explanation, if we are to believe that they were ever tenable at all.¹²

In the first place, Schiller was hailed as a "Volksdichter," as a poet of the people. But were a foreign reader, ignorant of this claim, to enumerate the "Volksdichter" of German literature, Schiller's name would hardly be on his list. Abstractly regarded, Schiller is, in fact, anything rather than a "poet of the people"; he

is not only, as Goethe himself said,¹³ "far more of an aristocrat" than Goethe, but also one of the least "*volkstümlich*" poets that ever lived. It may, however, be argued that it is not in this sense that Schiller is popular—that is to say, the sense in which Burns is a poet of the people: his thought, the intellectual world in which he lived and moved, lay obviously beyond the comprehension of the ordinary man; but he was the author of a series of attractive stories in dramatic and ballad form, in which the characters, conceived on bold and simple lines, vibrate with easily understood feelings and passions. He is "*Volksdichter*" in a pictorial sense; and the picturesque in Schiller's plays—a picturesqueness of language as well as of character and scenery—was one of the features which endeared him to the Germans of 1859. It must be remembered, too, that at this date the power of "*Young Germany*" had by no means exhausted itself, and Hegel was still the dominant force in philosophy. The ideal of literature which "*Young Germany*" had imported from France, and the Hegelians approved of, was not very exacting; naïveté was tabooed and literary convention held in higher honour than a faithful

echo of national life or sentiment. Schiller's admirers in 1859 were easily satisfied with externals, and accepted the characters of his plays as genuine embodiments of their own sentiments and aspirations; the eloquent rhetoric of Max Piccolomini and *Wilhelm Tell* was held to be preferable to the "unliterary" thoughts and feelings of a real "Volkslitteratur."¹⁴ Schiller was the national poet of the Hegelian age, an age which—to use the expression of a later date—was not yet "Goethe-reif."

He was further, we are told by the orators of 1859, the "poet of freedom." This, again, is a statement which the modern reader finds it difficult to understand. It is obvious that Schiller's early "Sturm und Drang" dramas, as well as *Wilhelm Tell*, are pleas for freedom; and in this sense he was, as we have seen, acceptable to the political reformers of the first half of the nineteenth century. But the "idea of freedom," which Goethe found running through all his friend's work,¹⁵ was not individual or political freedom; it was an "ideal" freedom, an inner freedom of soul, a harmony of thought and feeling, of will and desire. In his riper period, at least, Schiller was no more the poet

of freedom, as the word was understood by those who had pinned their faith to the Revolution of 1848, than—and this was another of the strange illusions of 1859—he was the poet of patriotism. In 1859 Schiller, the patriot, was uppermost in all minds; and this is still a theme upon which the German schoolmaster loves to dwell. It was, of course, *Wilhelm Tell*—and also, to some extent, *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*—which gave Schiller a place among the patriotic poets; he who so well described the revolt of the Swiss against their oppressors, must himself be a lover of his fatherland. In 1804, however, the year in which the Holy Roman Empire came to an end, there was no German fatherland, and the innumerable principalities in which the German tongue was spoken could hardly inspire any large-minded national sentiment. Schiller, by birth a Swabian, was no more a Swabian in the patriotic sense than his fellow-countryman Wieland, and still less was he prejudiced in favour of his adopted country, the Duchy of Saxe-Weimar. In fact, patriotism, as we understand it to-day, is the last quality to be looked for in this cosmopolitan idealist of the eighteenth century.

The eulogists of 1859, however, were not perhaps so blind to the delusion which they helped to spread as we are apt to think. They knew that Schiller was not a patriot in their sense of the word; but the fact that liberty and patriotism were to him philosophic conceptions rather than concrete realities, appealed the more warmly to them because the realities lay beyond their own grasp. Since 1813, the year of German liberation, German political freedom had suffered one defeat after another; the creation of the "German Bund" had been followed by the "Carlsbad Resolutions" and the "Demagogenhetze"; the July revolution brought Germany nothing; the Revolution of 1848 followed, and fresh hopes were awakened of political emancipation, but hardly a year later, these too were crushed. Thus in 1859 the German people had reached, politically, a point at which hopelessness had given place to indifference; liberty had become a dream of over-rash souls, and unity was further distant than in 1813. Under these circumstances, Schiller had a great consolation to offer: the reformers who had set their hearts on seeing Germany a great and united nation learned from him that the only real freedom was

a freedom of soul; he kept alive in drooping hearts what Max Piccolomini called "the faith in what is noble in liberty" ("den Glauben an das Edle in der Freiheit").¹⁶ To those crying for a fatherland, Schiller, with his imperturbable idealism, held out a fatherland of the spirit. If, in the speeches of 1859, Attinghausen's appeal to the Swiss to be "einig, einig, einig," was so often quoted, it was in the devout hope that the German peoples would be united in spirit, would be "brothers in Schiller," rather than from any belief that real political union was possible.

Lastly, as his countrymen were told in 1859, Schiller is the poet who has given most complete expression to the idealism of the German race. When we assert that Schiller was an idealist, we do not only mean that, as Goethe said, his "real productivity lay in the ideal,"¹⁷ but that he maintained certain clearly defined æsthetic and moral ideals. It was obviously this second interpretation which the older generation had in view. They believed that Schiller's works embodied an idealism which was not merely specifically German, but was true of the Germanic peoples of all time. Much, however, has happened in Germany since 1859, and it is now clear

that Schiller's idealism was, after all, that of a very definite epoch: it sprang from the optimistic rationalism of the eighteenth century, and, under the influence of Kant, crystallised gradually into a system of philosophic humanitarianism, in which art was assigned its delicately poised place in the economy of human life. This idealism, which was perhaps the most vital thing that the epoch of Goethe and Schiller had to bequeath to posterity, passed unscathed through the individualism of the Romantic School, and was fostered by the movement of later German thought; the categorical imperative of Kant gave place to the self-effacement of Fichte's ethics, and this again to Schopenhauer's contempt for the world. The German mind, buffeted by disappointment and defeat, clung firmly to the spiritual faith of its classical leaders, and, until late in the nineteenth century, novelists and dramatists show a partiality for themes which illustrate the idealistic outlook upon life. Above all, to a generation like that of 1859, which was not able to grasp the full meaning of Schopenhauer's pessimism, or that fine artistic pessimism reflected in Grillparzer's tragedy of the will, the bold, simple lines of Schiller's ethical system

indisputably appealed. Schiller's heroes, fighting against untoward fates and triumphing spiritually while succumbing physically, doing mortal penance for violated duties, were the exemplars of true nobility.

Thus the year 1859 put its stamp on Schiller and gave us the poet as we know him; and when the orators of to-day eulogise Germany's "most national poet," it is not the real Schiller they have in view, but the idealised hero of the Centenary celebrations. Germany was slow in rectifying her judgment of Schiller, much slower than in the case of Goethe; Schiller's letters were published late and reluctantly, and earlier editors and biographers were more intent on fostering the popular idea than on getting at the actual facts of his life. The first satisfactory edition of Schiller's works, that by Karl Goedeke, only appeared at Stuttgart between 1867 and 1876, and it was more than ten years later before even a beginning was made to an adequate biography: of the three or four larger biographies, not one is even yet within measurable distance of completion.¹⁸ It is thus hardly to be wondered at that the Life of Schiller by Palleske—in which the standpoint of 1859 is

maintained in undiminished glory—and books on similar lines are still the sources from which the German public draws its knowledge and opinions of the poet.

But in spite of this, a change has come over the attitude of the German people towards Schiller since the Centenary of 1859. Had that event fallen only a few years later, it would not have met with so unanimous a response; and when, in 1871, Germany at last became a nation, when the poet's "*seid einig!*" was not merely a spiritual but also a political fact, Schiller was no longer the man of the hour, and received even hardly his fair share of the national gratitude. The kingdom of the Germans was no longer a kingdom of the air; Schiller, the cosmopolitan enthusiast of the eighteenth century, was but indifferently adapted to be the representative poet of the real German Empire of 1871. As the years went on, a younger generation grew up which, under the guidance of scholars like Herman Grimm, Wilhelm Scherer, and Erich Schmidt, discovered that not Schiller but Goethe was the embodiment of Germany's spiritual aspirations; the new and healthier outlook on life and literature stimulated an interest

in dramatists like Kleist, Grillparzer, and Hebbel, and awakened in many minds an aversion to Schiller as the favourite poet of an age on which the "Deutsche Reich" did not care to look back; and thus the aureole disappeared which, for thirty years, had surrounded the poet's head.¹⁹

There is, however, one hindrance to the German people arriving even yet at a final judgment of Schiller's position in the national literature, and that is the tradition kept alive in the German school. We have already seen how, at the Centenary of 1859, Schiller was brought forward as an educational factor—perhaps the greatest misfortune that can befall a poet. The most absurd rodomontades were, on that occasion, due to the schoolmasters, and it is difficult to avoid the impression that the celebration was in great measure pedagogic in its origin. The German school of to-day not merely holds fast in the main to the traditional standpoint of 1859, but shows an increasing desire to maintain the old sentiment about Schiller, to twist and warp his ideas to fit the changed conditions of German nationalism. German youths are brought up on fulsome and unreal biographies of the poet, written by Gymnasium pro-

fessors,²⁰ in which the moral significance of Schiller's career is doubly underlined, and on school editions of Schiller's plays, in which his work is held up as an eternal model of what the national drama ought to be. The schoolman shows himself, for the most part, incapable of discriminating between what in Schiller is poetry and what is merely rhetoric, of realising the changes which have come over the *technique* of the drama in the last generation, or of understanding the movement of human ideas from the unnational humanitarianism of Schiller's epoch to the nationalism of Bismarck's. It is not to be wondered at that, as soon as a young man escapes from the trammels of the gymnasium and begins to think and read for himself, his first impulse is to become what Otto Brahm called a "Schiller hater."

Two years ago Italy had occasion to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the death of Schiller's contemporary, Alfieri; and the books and articles which were published on that occasion are characterised by an objectivity of standpoint which we look for in vain in the great mass of literature on the German poet. Alfieri was admittedly a man of much

narrower poetic calibre than Schiller; he was never regarded in any wide sense as a national Italian poet, but the relative position which each writer held in the literature of his country was in some respects analogous. Germany, it seems to me, will not realise what manner of poet Schiller was, and what he meant for the national life, until she is able to regard him as objectively as the Italians see their Alfieri. For, after all, Schiller was not the moral paragon his most ardent eulogists would have us believe, but a very human struggler and fighter, a man whose heroism lay in the obstinate battle he fought to maintain, amidst disheartening conditions, his own faith in the beauty of life and the moral fabric of the universe. As a poet, he had exceptional gifts, but his work was not, in any special sense, national; still less was it for all time. To understand what he achieved, and what he might have achieved, it is necessary to study anew, and with unbiassed mind, the conditions under which he lived and wrote. Thus and thus only will the real Schiller take the place of the man of straw—or, to use Nietzsche's biting expression, "the moral Trumpeter of Säckingen"²¹—of 1859.

II.

SCHILLER IN “STURM UND DRANG”

Haben wir je einen teutschen Shakespear zu erwarten, so ist es dieser.

—*Erfurtische Gelehrte Zeitung*, July 24, 1781.²²

SCHILLER IN “STURM UND DRANG.”

A GREAT poet or thinker is not often for more than a brief period the leader of his age: either he outgrows what the French call the “movement,” or he is left behind by it—in either case he ceases to belong to it. In 1781 Schiller published *Die Räuber*, and this was followed in the course of the next three years by *Fiesco* and *Kabale und Liebe*. With these three prose tragedies Schiller became the dominant power on the German stage in the latter half of the “Sturm und Drang”; here, at least, whatever we may say of him in subsequent years, he was in perfect agreement with the ideas and aspirations of his contemporaries.

Die Räuber is one of the phenomenal works of the eighteenth century, a play of enormous force and vitality, as even the most uncompromising modern realist is obliged to admit. In spite of its crudities, its exaggerations, its lack of good

taste, this wonderful ebullition of youth has a greater power of gripping an audience in the theatre than any of Schiller's riper tragedies. Most remarkable of all, is that *Die Räuber* should have been written by a youth, who had seen no more of the world than was visible from the strict prison of a military school. From the young Goethe who rode into Strassburg in April 1770, anything might have been expected; from the stiff, unnatural youth of the "Military Academy" in Stuttgart, the author of inflated school speeches and impossible lyrics, no one would have looked for a tragedy so full of genuine and sincere feeling as *Die Räuber*.

Much has been written about Schiller's unhappy lot as child and youth; and it has been compared unfavourably with that of Goethe, whose childhood in Frankfort was a round of sunshine. Schiller's early days certainly did not make for happiness, but perhaps, after all, they formed the best training and preparation for the future tragic poet; they implanted in him that "sense for the cruel," which, as Goethe finely observed, was a distinguishing characteristic of Schiller's mind. What the poet himself called the "Missklang auf der grossen Laute" impressed itself on him

at every turn; life early assumed tragic proportions.²³ But there were other factors in his youth which were of importance in shaping his destiny. It is possible, for instance, that his sense for the poetic aspects of history was kindled by the Hohenstaufen traditions in Lorch, where he spent what was relatively the happiest part of his childhood. Again, the hunger for splendour, so innate in Schiller's temperament, could be in some measure satisfied in Ludwigsburg, the Swabian Versailles; it would be difficult, indeed, to suggest a place or opportunity better adapted to teach the son of a self-made army-officer the ways and speech of kings and princes, than the court of the despot of the "Solitude."

Die Räuber is one of those intuitive works of genius which appear sporadically in a nation's history, and gather together all the threads of vital interest peculiar to an age. It is a play taken from the life of its own day; the scene is laid neither in England nor in Italy—as was usual in the German drama of the "Geniezeit"—nor, as in *Götz von Berlichingen*, in the historic past. In the same way, its characters, thoughts, and motives were, when it appeared, modern; the tragedy of Karl Moor—that of a great soul who,

mistaking the ways of Providence to men, rises at the close of his life to a sublime insight into those ways—was in the highest degree actual. Had the author of *Die Räuber* expressly aimed at creating a drama which should hold the mirror up to his time, he could not have chosen a better theme. Hardly an important idea made its appearance in the German literature of Schiller's epoch which does not here find an echo: the peculiar fervour of the poet's mind is of that intense Germanic type which had burst forth in Klopstock, and discovered its affinities in Ossian and Rousseau; and all the great books of the generation—Homer, Plutarch, Rousseau, Shakespeare, Cervantes, above all, the Bible, which Herder had rediscovered for the “*Sturm und Drang*”—have left their traces on *Die Räuber*.

The student of the eighteenth century recognises, as more or less familiar, the motives, situations, and characters of Schiller's play. The idea of two hostile brothers, the tragedy of primogeniture,—which had a historical justification in the Europe of the *ancien régime*,—was a favourite one at the time: the slaying of Abel was dramatised by Gessner and in a fragment by Maler Müller;

a similar conflict is to be found in more than one ancient tragedy, also in Shakespeare's *King Lear*, while the English literature of the eighteenth century—the real source, as far as Schiller and his contemporaries were concerned—loved to contrast a virtuous and a vicious son. The additional complication in *Die Räuber*, where Franz Moor's hatred is fanned into flame by his love for his brother's betrothed—had come into vogue under the influence of the sentimental movement initiated by Richardson and Rousseau. The motive was a favourite one with the dramatists of the "Sturm und Drang"; Klinger employs it again and again in his early plays, and it is introduced into the tragedy which left the deepest impression on young Schiller's mind, Leisewitz's *Julius von Tarent*. The latter play together with Klinger's *Die Zwillinge* were his immediate models, while the main incidents of the plot were drawn from a story, *Zur Geschichte des menschlichen Herzens*, by the Swabian poet, Schubart.

The weaknesses of *Die Räuber* are too palpable to require dwelling on. Actual characterisation and dramatic life are only evident in the members of the robber band, for which the young's poet's

circle of school friends served as models. Characters, on the other hand, like the old Graf, Daniel, Hermann, and the heroine Amalia, are either conventional stage types or unreal shadows: not one is brought to a clear focus either by the words he speaks or by the actions he takes part in. Karl Moor himself is the gigantic projection of a boyish imagination, the incarnation of all that is heroic and noble; he is a champion of humanity who has had the courage to renounce a degenerate society, and "In leges" would have been an apter motto for the play than "In tyrannos," the words which appear on the title-page of the second edition. Karl's brother Franz, who appeals less to modern sympathies, is one of those full-blooded villains familiar to us in Shakespeare's pages, a race that died out in literature with the eighteenth century, or, at least, early in the nineteenth. In Franz Moor there is something of Richard III., of Edmund (in *Lear*), and of Iago, and his monologues are echoes from Shakespeare's tragedies. But Schiller outshot the mark; his villain is drawn without artistic reserve; Franz's philosophic quibbling and medical lore seem to us now only absurd ostentation—he is humanly impossible. And yet,

even at the height of these extravagances, in the terrible monologue of the Last Judgment, which precedes his death, there is a grandiosity which has not yet lost its power to move. The interest of Schiller's brothers does not, however, lie in the greater or less success with which he has portrayed them, but in the fact that in these two men—the one all heart, the other crafty, designing intellect—are personified the great forces in the social life of the eighteenth century, which crashed together at the French Revolution. Franz is the tyrant, the despot of the old *régime*, Karl the man of feeling, whom Rousseau discovered for Europe: it is this far-reaching significance which makes *Die Räuber* not merely a German, but also a European work.²⁴

From the technical standpoint of the stage, *Die Räuber* is the first wholly successful tragedy Germany produced: it is not pieced together according to theoretic rule and calculation like *Emilia Galotti*, nor is it restless and unwieldy like *Götz von Berlichingen* or many of the plays of the "Sturm und Drang." Flaws, improbabilities, excrescences, it has in abundance; Pelion is piled on Ossa at every opportunity; the characters of the play are deficient in the variety

and the fine humanity which we find in the tragedy by Goethe just mentioned; above all, the language of *Die Räuber* is too often bombastic and without real dramatic significance, though even in the latter respect an improvement may be detected towards the close. But, when all is said and done, the action, the movement of the play, is extraordinarily vividly represented; we *see* everything. And the true tragic pathos is here, the instinctive grasp of those elements which go towards making a genuine tragic conflict. As Bulthaupt rightly says, the real German tragedy arose with *Die Räuber*;²⁵ the tragic style was created, which, remodelled in one way or another, has remained the dominant one in Germany until the present day. *Die Räuber* is—on this point recent critics are in remarkable agreement²⁶—Schiller's most epoch-making achievement as a dramatist. No other of his plays, not even *Kabale und Liebe*, is still able to hold an audience so firmly in its grip as this; and those who were fortunate enough to witness the representations of the Meiningen Court Theatre some fifteen years ago will readily understand how the opinion that *Die Räuber* is Schiller's greatest tragedy came to be, at

that time, a favourite one in German student circles.

The task which Schiller set himself in his second play was a more difficult one than that which he had so successfully carried out in *Die Räuber*. The new theme—the conspiracy of Fiesco, Count of Lavagna, against the supremacy of the Dorias in Genoa—being historical, demanded a less subjective point of view; moreover, the scene was crowded with characters, the plot complicated and harder to conduct to a satisfactory dramatic conclusion. There is also another important fact which is sometimes lost sight of in judging this play: *Fiesco* is more original—that is to say, less dependent on models—than its predecessor, and certainly more original than *Kabale und Liebe*. We know of no prototype which stands in so intimate a relation to it, as does Klinger's *Die Zwillinge*, or Leisewitz's *Julius von Tarent* to *Die Räuber*, or Gemmingen's *Der deutsche Hausvater* to Schiller's third tragedy. Keeping this in view, it is manifestly unjust to speak disparagingly, as is so often done, of *Fiesco*. If in nothing else, it is an advance on *Die Räuber* in technical respects. That play had proved, as we have seen, that Schiller was a

creative poet capable of giving voice to the ideas of his time, and that he had the inborn dramatic instinct. *Fiesco* showed that he also possessed a practical talent for the theatre, the power of effectively handling a dramatic action and disposing of it in attractive stage pictures. This tragedy has an irresistible swing; the intrigue is unrolled with unflagging interest, and the scenes follow one another like a series of brilliant kaleidoscopic images.

As for the alleged weak points, the inadequate historical preparation, the want of understanding for the real causes of the conspiracy and for the spirit of the Italian sixteenth century, it is measuring Schiller by an unfair standard, that of a much later time, to call these defects. Even if they are, they are not any more in evidence here than in the works of the poet's later years. The secondary characters are less plastically conceived, less individual, than the members of Karl Moor's robber band—the admirable figure of Muley Hassan, Spiegelberg's successor, alone excepted. But Fiesco himself is by no means the mere replica of Karl Moor some critics would have us believe: without being so clearly distinct from the latter as, say, Goethe's Egmont is from

Götz, he shows a similar development in the direction of "beautiful humanity." On the whole, it may be said that the most conspicuous superiority of *Fiesco* over *Die Räuber* is one of *technique*; the handicraft of the playwright encroaches more upon the unsophisticated art of the dramatist who wrote *Die Räuber*. The same encroachment of literary tradition is conspicuous in the language of the play; excesses of speech are still abundant, but the sincerity of tone which characterised the earlier work is too often missing; the aphoristic cleverness of Lessing, which had infected Schiller's favourite model, *Julius von Tarent*, has also left its traces here.

The third step forward was *Kabale und Liebe*. This tragedy is again what *Die Räuber* had been, actual, not historical; in its *milieu* and characters it is the most exact copy of life that Schiller has left us. In his first play he railed against the hemming, obstructing laws of society; here he arraigns the spirit of caste which was so rampant throughout Europe in the period prior to the French Revolution. He avenges himself on the petty despotism, the despicable intrigue, on which his own life in Stuttgart had been almost wrecked. *Kabale und Liebe* was a product of

Schiller's darkest days: he first brooded over the plot in the fortnight's imprisonment to which the Duke of Würtemberg condemned him after his second surreptitious visit to Mannheim; the drama accompanied him through all the miseries and humiliations that followed his escape from Stuttgart; and it was written for the most part in a peasant's house in the little village of Oggersheim.

The superiority of *Kabale und Liebe* to its two predecessors is not to be mistaken. In no other of his plays has Schiller given such careful attention to the background, the atmosphere of the tragedy, as here; the plot is skilfully welded together, and the characters are drawn with a wonderful sureness of touch. It is almost incredible that the same hand which depicted the shadowy Graf von Moor, the theatrical Verrina, should now produce the admirable figure of the musician Miller; that, after the impossible women of *Die Räuber* and *Fiesco*, Schiller should have created a character of such marked individuality as the Lady Milford, or a heroine so relatively human as Louise. As far as style is concerned, there is, apart from an occasional outburst of pent-up feeling,

less bombast than before, and there are not a few pages of simple, natural dialogue, where not a word is misplaced or superfluous.

This leap forward is not easy to explain, for *Fiesco* and *Kabale und Liebe* were practically conceived and written simultaneously. Schiller's experience of life had been considerably widened since leaving Würtemberg, and in Bauerbach, where the tragedy was finished, he had passed through a more real passion than that which inspired the rhetorical odes to Laura. But here, again, as in the case of *Fiesco*, the advance was in the main a literary one; it was due to Schiller's increased familiarity with the contemporary drama. *Kabale und Liebe* is a "bürgerliche Tragödie," and is closely modelled on the other "bürgerliche Tragödien" of the time; the characters are drawn, not from life, but from the plays of Wagner, Lenz, and Gemmingen. Indeed, if we turn to *Der deutsche Hausvater* by the last-mentioned writer,²⁷ we are forced to the conclusion that *Kabale und Liebe* is, as far as plot and other externals are concerned, the least original of the three dramas of Schiller's youth. What he has done is to transmute the rough ore of the "Sturm und

Drang" playwrights into pure metal. The dramas he took as models were "Familien-gemälde" and "bürgerliche Tragödien" in the first instance, and love tragedies only as a kind of unavoidable accident. Schiller reversed the conditions: *Kabale und Liebe* is, above all things, a love tragedy, for which the "drama of common life" supplied the characters, *milieu*, and motives. This change in the point of view was an important gain, for it was the first attempt to regard this type of tragedy *sub specie eterni*; it meant that the poet was on the right way towards raising the drama of the "Sturm und Drang" from a merely parochial "Tendenz-drama" to what might have been in the best sense a national drama.

Kabale und Liebe has, however, flaws of construction, which are even more conspicuous than those in *Fiesco*. It has been often remarked, for instance, that the tragic *dénouement* depends on a trifle; a single word, a look, might, at the critical moment, avert the catastrophe. Such things are, of course, admissible in tragedy, but only on the condition that the misunderstanding is the symbol of a deeper necessity. This at least was Shakespeare's

way, and he, perhaps more than any other great dramatist, has employed the accident in the service of grave tragic issues. Schiller's plot is not inevitable enough. Nor do the characters bear too close a scrutiny. Both Louise and Ferdinand have moments when they appear living and convincing, but neither is, regarded as a whole, entirely consistent. The Louise, who stands face to face with Lady Milford and softens that "proud Briton," is not the passionate girl who is torn asunder between her father and her lover. Nor, again, can we believe that the Ferdinand who exultantly cries, "Du, Louise, und ich und die Liebe! liegt nicht in diesem Zirkel der ganze Himmel?" can so easily become a jealous tyrant on a suspicion awakened by a letter. In construction as well as in motive, Schiller has allowed the theatrical to prevail over the poetically dramatic: that is the most damaging criticism that can be brought against this tragedy.

But in spite of such defects, *Kabale und Liebe* is one of the half-dozen outstanding German dramas of the eighteenth century. In the history of the drama of common life it occupies

a central position; it is the fulcrum round which the whole genus turns. Lessing and the dramatists of the "Sturm und Drang" stand on one side, and the whole later development of the tragedy of common life, through Hebbel and Ludwig, to Sudermann in our own time, is ranged on the other. *Kabale und Liebe* is one of those works which belong to the history of the nineteenth, as well as of the eighteenth century.

There were, of course, possibilities of degeneration in these three dramas of the poet's youth. The realistic, commonplace *milieu* which Schiller depicted so successfully in *Kabale und Liebe* might possibly have had, as time went on, an undue attraction for him; or his fatal love of rhetoric might, in the unrestrained vehicle of prose, have led him to still greater extravagances of speech; or—most likely of all—the theatrical intrigue, which came easily and naturally to him, might have led him to that slippery path on which so many of the French dramatists of a later date came to grief: as far as Germany was concerned, the misunderstandings and trivial accidents of *Kabale und Liebe* were a step in the direction of Kotzebue.²⁸

But Schiller was, after all, a born poet; that was the safeguard against degeneration and the best guarantee for the future. He had shown himself able to place on the stage interesting men and women, whose fates lay in their own hands; and he had, in a higher degree than any of his contemporaries except Goethe, the art of reflecting in his work the ideas of his time, and of giving these ideas universal significance. Thus, it seems to me, a critical point had been reached in the history of German dramatic poetry: there was at last some hope that, with the help of this young poet of genius, Germany might attain to a really national drama—national in the sense in which the drama of Corneille and Racine is national in France, of Lope de Vega and Calderon in Spain, and of Shakespeare in England.

But this was not to be; an unexpected change came over Schiller's art; the poet of *Kabale und Liebe* became the poet of *Don Carlos*.

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III.

DON CARLOS

Wo sind die teutschen Trauerspiele, die wir dem *Cid*, dem *Cinna*, der *Phädra*, dem *Britannicus*, der *Athalie*, dem *Catalina*, der *Alzire*, dem *Mahomed*, wo die Lustspiele, die wir dem *Misanthrope*, dem *Tartüffé* entgegen stellen können? . . . Ich wünsche, dass mir nur ein einziges gedrucktes Stük genannt werde, welches in allen Eigenschaften eines vortrefflichen Trauerspiels (Sprache, Versification und Reim mit einbedungen) neben irgend einem von *Racine* stehen könne. . . . Welch eine Laufbahn liegt hier noch für künstige Dichter offen.

—WIELAND.²⁹

DON CARLOS.

IN the life of every man there comes a moment when his whole future seems to depend on a purely voluntary decision. However the poet's life and work may, in the past, have been moulded by forces over which he has no control, "the ruler of his star," to quote an aphorism of Hebbel's,³⁰ sooner or later "gives the reins into his own hands." In Schiller's life this decisive moment lay between *Kabale und Liebe* and *Don Carlos*.

Many-sided as Schiller's activity was, his work, considered as a whole, shows an unbroken continuity: one drama leads by a natural transition to another, while poetry merges into history, history into philosophy, philosophy into poetry, like a series of dissolving views. There is only one conspicuous break, and that is between the "bürgerliche Tragödie," *Kabale und Liebe*, and his first historical drama in blank verse. In *Don*

Carlos Schiller abandoned the dramatic methods of his youth and created the type of play to which he remained faithful for the rest of his life. This is what makes the study of *Don Carlos* invaluable for the understanding of Schiller's career.

Like Goethe's *Iphigenie* and Schiller's own *Wallenstein*, *Don Carlos* passed through several metamorphoses: it was not "the blossom of a single summer," as Schiller himself considered a drama ought to be;³¹ it occupied him more or less for five years. The subject was suggested to him as early as May 1782, by Dalberg, the Intendant of the Mannheim Theatre, who presumably gave him St Réal's *nouvelle historique* of *Don Carlos* to read; in December of the same year, when in Bauerbach, he borrowed the book again from the Meiningen library; and on the 27th of March 1783, after having brought *Louise Millerin*—as *Kabale und Liebe* was originally called—to a conclusion, he resolved that *Don Carlos* should be the subject of his next work. During the month of April he worked at the drama with enthusiasm, but towards the end of the month he was interrupted by having to prepare *Louise Millerin* for the stage, and it was not

until June 1784, when he had been “Theatre poet” in Mannheim for the best part of a year, that he took up *Don Carlos* again. How much or how little Schiller wrote in Bauerbach, it is impossible to say, but we know that what was written was in prose; and we have a rough plan of the whole, as the poet then conceived it. In Mannheim Schiller remoulded *Don Carlos* in iambics, and, by the end of the year, he was able to read the first act to the Darmstadt Court, in the presence of the Duke of Weimar. This act was published in March 1785 in the *Rheinische Thalia*. The tragedy, however, advanced slowly and under difficulties. Some progress was made in Gohlis, but there was no question of steady work upon it until the autumn, when Schiller was established with his friend Körner at Löschwitz on the Elbe. The second number of the *Thalia* (February 1786)—the *Rheinische Thalia* had been reprinted by Göschen as the first number of Schiller’s new venture—contained only scenes 1-3 of Act II., the remaining scenes of this act following in No. 3 of the journal, which appeared in May. Then came another pause of months: the various changes of plan had increased the difficulty of bringing the

tragedy to a satisfactory conclusion. It was not until the end of December 1786 that the fourth part of the *Thalia* was issued with a further instalment, the last which Schiller published in the journal. He now devoted all his energy to preparing the complete edition of the play, which appeared in June 1787 under the title *Dom Karlos, Infant von Spanien*.³²

The stages of development through which the drama passed, resulted in the plot becoming hopelessly confused. Schiller had set out on a course of intrigue which, even in the earliest form of the work, was unnaturally intricate, but the difficulty increased tenfold when the play's centre of gravity was shifted from the Prince to Marquis Posa, and its centre of interest from love intrigue to political propaganda. Posa, originally intended to be Don Carlos's confidant and self-sacrificing friend, ultimately became the spokesman of the poet's own ideas of political freedom, thus completely outgrowing the part for which he had been intended in the economy of the whole. The equilibrium was irretrievably deranged, and the motives and actions of the later scenes, in spite of explanations and commentaries—the poet's own *Briefe über Don Carlos*

included—are now incomprehensible to us. From the point of view of construction, *Don Carlos* is the least satisfactory and the weakest of Schiller's works.

It is not, it seems to me, an unreasonable inference that the original *Don Carlos*, as planned in Bauerbach, would have been a drama on similar lines to its immediate predecessor, the difference being that, instead of a tragedy of common life, it was to be a "family picture (*Familiengemälde*) in a royal house."³³ The intrigue, we may be assured, would have been conducted on the lines of *Kabale und Liebe*, Princess Eboli playing the rôle of Lady Milford, Carlos of Ferdinand. That this *Don Carlos* would have had the chief fault of Schiller's previous work, a too theatrical intrigue, is also not to be gainsaid, but the poet was aware of the dangers on his path. By cutting himself free from the middle-class surroundings which had exerted so levelling an influence on German tragedy throughout the period of "Sturm und Drang," he would have been able to adopt a more dignified dramatic technique, and his tragic conflict would have gained in depth and sincerity by the fact that he identified himself and his own personal trials

more closely with those of his hero. The young prince was to have been a magnified Ferdinand; but he was also to have had "Hamlet's soul, the blood and nerves of Leisewitz's Julius von Tarent, and the pulse of the author";³⁴ he was clearly to be the most intimately personal hero that Schiller had yet created. *Don Carlos* might thus have been the very link that was necessary in the evolution, on a national basis, of the German drama from the "bürgerliche Tragödie." If only on this account, the Bauerbach manuscript, should it ever come to light, would be a document hardly less important in its way than the Göchhausen transcript of the *Urfaust*.

When, however, we turn to the completed *Don Carlos*, we find that the literary aims of the poet have in the interval undergone a change. Schiller's first three plays had shown a steady and rapid development in the mastery of dramatic prose, and there are pages in *Kabale und Liebe* which are hardly inferior to the best in *Götz von Berlichingen* or *Clavigo*; but, in abandoning prose, Schiller seemed to forget all that he had gradually learned in the art of pregnant dramatic expression. The characters of *Don Carlos* speak another tongue;

they delight in vague and general sentiments, and the bombast which, in prose, Schiller was gradually eliminating from his work, returns again in the form of a glittering rhetoric. Speaking a new language, the poet felt that he must adopt a new method of thinking poetically, as opposed to the natural way of thinking observable in *Kabale und Liebe*.³⁵ He was further obliged to dispense with the fine delineation, which had resulted in the clear-cut figures of that tragedy; the *dramatis personæ* are now only revealed through the beautifying veil of poetry; they are no longer living individuals, but only types, incarnations of sharply defined human virtues or vices. The hero, Don Carlos, who was to have been a blend of Hamlet, Julius von Tarent, and Schiller himself, has become a vague shadow of all three; their salient characteristics he may retain, of their personalities he has nothing; he has become an abstraction so varnished over with what Schiller now understood as "poetry" that all traits of individualised character have disappeared.³⁶ He is now only an ideal youth placed in the tragic predicament of loving an ideal stepmother, and falling a victim to ideal-

ised political machinations; and the moral the poet would bring home to us is of more interest than are the characters. The general impression which the drama leaves is admirably expressed by Jacobi in a letter to Humboldt: "*Don Carlos* is the most unnaive of all productions, a cold palace in which the over-heated stoves smell."⁸⁷

A further consequence of the new method is that Schiller, who in his early dramas proved himself a born playwright, with a perfect sense of dramatic fitness, here shows a complete disregard for form and proportion. Although by no means crowded with incidents, *Don Carlos* is of a length quite disproportionate to its subject; with its 5370 verses—and it was originally still longer—it exceeds the longest Shakespearean tragedy by more than a quarter, and the first act alone extends to two-thirds the length of a French classic tragedy, or of Alfieri's drama on the same theme, *Filippo II.*

Before proceeding to examine the causes which led to this remarkable transition in Schiller's work from *Kabale und Liebe* to *Don Carlos*, we must be a little more precise in fixing the period of the change. The breach

of continuity lies, as will have been obvious from the foregoing, not so much between *Kabale und Liebe* and the *Don Carlos* of Bauerbach, as between that version of *Don Carlos* and the play as recast in iambics. In other words, the critical period in Schiller's career as a dramatic poet was the year he spent as "Theatre poet" in Mannheim.

We are thus confronted at the outset with the question, What did Mannheim and its National Theatre mean for Schiller? The answer is, It Europeanised his genius, and brought him under the influence of Latin ideals of dramatic art. For Mannheim was proverbial for its French tastes; French literature was widely read there, and in no quarter of Germany was Wieland more warmly appreciated. W. H. von Dalberg, the Intendant of the theatre, shared these tastes, and the most active supporter at this time of the French classic drama in Germany, Friedrich Wilhelm Gotter, was, as Dalberg's friend, often consulted in questions concerning the repertory and staff of the theatre.³⁸ Shakespeare, the idol of the "Stürmer und Dränger," was not popular in Mannheim, unless when made palatable in gallicised versions

by Weisse, Gotter, and Dalberg himself. And Schiller, too, soon realised that *Die Räuber*, *Fiesco*, and *Kabale und Liebe* could reckon on a warmer reception anywhere else in Germany than in the town which had nominated him its "Theaterdichter."³⁹ Indeed, even before the poet settled in Mannheim, Dalberg's influence had had some effect on him;⁴⁰ and, in his own stage adaptation of *Fiesco*, he made several concessions to the ruling standard of taste. It is perhaps also worth adding that the "Antiken-saal" in Mannheim, which had impressed both Lessing and Goethe, and was described by Schiller with enthusiasm, under the guise of a travelling Dane, in the *Rheinische Thalia*, helped to open his eyes to the beauties of a classic art.

But the chief force in winning Schiller as an adherent of classicism in poetry was Lessing, whose work, we might say, was pressed upon his attention by the position he held in Mannheim. The theatre in Mannheim, like that of Gotha before it, had been founded with the express hope of succeeding where the "Hamburg Enterprise" had failed; indeed, an effort had been made to tempt Lessing to emerge

from his retirement in Wolfenbüttel, and once more take an active part in controlling the destinies of the German stage. This attempt failed—and not altogether because Lessing was unwilling⁴¹—and Schiller's appointment was obviously intended to correspond with that which Lessing had occupied in Hamburg. Schiller accepted the rôle of official “dramaturgist,” and laid before the Intendant a scheme—which, however, was not carried out—of a *Mannheimer Dramaturgie*. There is little doubt that the former leader of the “Sturm und Drang” had now become a diligent student and an admirer of Lessing's text-book of the theatre, the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*.⁴²

It is beyond my province here to define the place which Lessing's work occupies in the evolution of dramatic ideas: it must suffice to emphasise an aspect of the book which—misled by the fact that Lessing entered the lists as a champion of Shakespeare and an adversary of the French classic tragedy—we are apt to overlook, and that is that the *Dramaturgie* is essentially a document of eighteenth century classicism. It is, in great part, a polemic against Voltaire, but it deals only with the periphery of the sub-

ject, with the unessential in Voltaire's practice, while tacitly accepting certain fundamental principles of the French poet's *technique*. For Lessing was, after all, himself a Voltairean, who spent his life in fighting against Voltaire. As for Lessing's understanding and admiration for Shakespeare, it cannot be sufficiently emphasised that this was strictly limited by the discovery that Shakespeare did not in spirit transgress the laws of classic tragedy, as expounded by Aristotle: it would not have occurred to Lessing to say, as we might to-day, that Aristotle can only be accepted as a universal critic if his laws are shown to be applicable to Shakespeare as well as to Sophocles. Lessing was in advance of the French classicists in so far as he was not offended by Shakespeare's lack of form, but he did not see that the English poet's greatness was of a different kind from that to be found in the Greek drama, as he and his contemporaries understood it, or in the drama of Corneille; that it depended on a power of depicting individuals whose tragic fate is pre-eminently in their own hearts, who are neither the shuttlecocks of outside forces nor mere generalised types. Lessing virtually re-established a classic tragedy in Germany, but

on a more catholic basis than that accepted in France, one that was in harmony with the spirit, if not with the letter of Aristotle. In spite of his own belief to the contrary, the ideal German tragedy of Lessing's *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*—let us say his own *Nathan der Weise*—was more akin to the drama of Voltaire than to that of Shakespeare.

And the lessons which Schiller learned from Lessing were reinforced by the advice of Wieland, the other great man of letters belonging to the older generation. In 1782 the latter published in his *Teutscher Merkur* two *Letters to a Young Poet*, in which he advocated the writing of dramas, not merely in verse but in rhymed verse: thus alone, he said, could Germany hope to arrive at a dramatic literature worthy of comparison with that of France. Even more after Schiller's heart must a third letter have been, which, however, did not appear until March 1784: here Wieland defended his position against the Austrian playwright Ayrenhoff, who had followed up Wieland's plea for French tragedy by railing against Shakespeare and *Götz von Berlichingen*. “I believe,” said Wieland, in summing up his argument, “that we can be just

towards the French, without taking sides against the English.”⁴³

It would have been strange had a poet of Schiller’s temperament not yielded to influences such as these, and, before very long, we find him completely won over to the ideal of the theatre that was accepted in Mannheim. The plan of dramaturgic activity which he laid before the Intendant—it is in the same letter in which he discussed *Don Carlos*—implies a complete break with the aims he had followed in *Die Räuber* and *Kabale und Liebe*. In a lecture, again, *Wie kann eine gute stehende Schaubühne eigentlich wirken?* he quotes Corneille’s *Cinna* side by side with Shakespeare, and he saw the necessity of providing the Mannheim stage with translations, not only of *Macbeth* and *Timon of Athens*, plays which were likely to satisfy the tastes of the public there, but also of Voltaire and Crébillon: in other words, he was himself prepared to take up in Mannheim a line of work similar to that by which Gotter had made his reputation.⁴⁴ It is hardly less significant to find Schiller the intimate friend of the Alsatian ex-Jesuit, Anton von Klein,⁴⁵ who constantly insisted on the laws of correct taste as exemplified

in the *tragédie classique*, and who had just condemned *Die Räuber* in a trenchant criticism. Furthermore, he quotes to Dalberg, with evident satisfaction, the report that Gotter had found the plot of *Don Carlos* "great."⁴⁶ It may also be added that the circles with which Schiller came into contact in Leipzig and Dresden, during his later work on *Don Carlos*, were not of a kind to counteract the classic trend he had acquired in 1784.⁴⁷

It is thus clear that the distinguishing features of this tragedy, as compared with the tragedies which preceded it, are due to the fact that Schiller abandoned Shakespearean naturalism for eighteenth-century classicism. In suggesting the subject-matter, Dalberg had, we might say, given the first impetus to a Latinisation of Schiller's poetry; for the theme of *Don Carlos* is essentially French, and the similarity of the plot to that of Racine's *Mithridate* or *Phédre* has been frequently remarked.⁴⁸ It is possible that if Schiller had finished the drama in Bauerbach, the subjective lines on which it was planned might have, to some extent, obliterated the Latin origin, but after his year's experience in Mannheim he must necessarily have regarded the

Latin elements of the conflict in a wholly favourable light.

The question of the influence of other dramatic versions of the story, of Otway's *Don Carlos* or Campistron's *Andronic*, has led to considerable controversy. It may, however, be accepted as conclusive that there is no evidence of Schiller having seen Otway's play, but, on the other hand, that he made considerable use of *Andronic*. Gallicisms have even been detected in the style of *Don Carlos*, and the outlines of the character of Marquis Posa—perhaps also its inconsistencies—are to be found in the *rôles* of Martian and Léonce in Campistron's tragedy.⁴⁹

But as far as the question of Latinisation is concerned, the fact of *Don Carlos* being written in verse is, it seems to me, of more importance than Schiller's direct indebtedness to a French source. That Wieland's advocacy was one of the determining factors in his choice of verse Schiller himself admitted, and it is clear that Klein's recommendations influenced him in the same direction;⁵⁰ but the actual origin of the iambics of *Don Carlos* has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Schiller had several models to choose from: Wieland's *Lady Johanna Gray*,

Brawe's *Brutus*, Weisse in his *Befreyung von Theben* and *Atreus und Thyest*, Gotter in his *Merope*, Lessing in *Nathan der Weise*; but a superficial examination will show that the poet learned nothing from Wieland, Brawe, or Weisse. The fact that Lessing had written his last great drama in iambics, and so established that metre as a medium of dramatic expression, no doubt primarily determined Schiller to use blank verse; and in other respects the resemblance between the plays is considerable, the culminating scene of *Don Carlos*, that between Posa and the King, being obviously modelled on the central scene in *Nathan*. But Schiller had too fine an ear for the music of verse to remain content with Lessing as a model of versification, and I am convinced that, in this respect, he learned his best lesson from Gotter's *Merope*, a drama based on the plays of the same name by Maffei and Voltaire.⁵¹ In any case, the fact that every possible model which Schiller might have chosen was a drama in the French classic style, naturally influenced him enormously: there was not a single iambic play in German to which he could have turned, before A. W. Schlegel began to translate Shakespeare, which could have helped

him to avoid Latin methods; for it was that translation which first showed the Germans how to combine the fine nervous characterisation they had attained under the influence of the “*Sturm und Drang*” with the requirements of a measured, rhythmic form. The consequence was that he almost inevitably fell into the sententious and broadly rhetorical style of the French masters.

As far as the spirit and tendency of *Don Carlos* are concerned, its method of characterising, its introduction of political and religious ideas of wide issue, Schiller's model was Voltaire. Even Campistron, from whom, as we saw, he directly borrowed, stands on the borderland between the æsthetic creations of the seventeenth century in France and the drama of ideas which triumphed with Voltaire in the eighteenth. In riper years Schiller went back with preference to Corneille and Racine,—for the latter he never lost his deep respect, and *Le Cid* he called, as far as the construction of the plot was concerned, the masterpiece of the tragic stage,⁵²—but in 1784 Voltaire stood nearer to him. For, after all, Voltaire is the typical tragic poet of the eighteenth century. It was he who taught the European dramatists the art of rendering outward and

visible—of presenting theatrically—the finer feelings and impulses of the soul; and this lesson affected alike the delicate spirituality of Racine's art and the psychological characterisation of Shakespeare's. It was Voltaire who transferred the focus of dramatic interest from the personality and the emotion to the situation and the problem; above all, it was Voltaire who showed how the theatre might be enlisted in the service of philosophy and morality, of religion and politics. With him, historical tragedy first became historically significant.⁵³

Voltaire's influence on the German drama of the eighteenth century can hardly be overestimated, and, as far as I am aware, has not yet been estimated at all.⁵⁴ He came at a time when the classic art of Corneille and Racine was rapidly losing its hold upon the German public, and, by widening the scope of that art, he established it more securely than before on the German stage. His actuality, his splendid exotic colouring, his rhetorical flights, awakened interest in a public which had little understanding for the chaster and more nationally French poetry of the age of Louis XIV. Above all, he insinuated himself into German hearts that had been moulded

by the Leibniz-Wolffian philosophy, by his portrayal of conflicts which resulted in moral betterment and regeneration, even at the cost of physical death; he showed how the character-types of the seventeenth century could be modernised and humanised by an inoculation of that sensibility (*Empfindsamkeit*) which, under Rousseau and Diderot, became dominant for a time in European literature. In Germany, Weisse, Brawe, and Cronegk carried on the Voltairean tradition which had been introduced by Gottsched and his followers, and Gotter and Schiller followed in their train.

Don Carlos, then, is a tragedy in the spirit of Voltaire; the characters are conceived and drawn after the model of the French poet; the intrigue—especially the conflict between father and son, the passion of a son for his stepmother—would have commended itself at once to Voltaire's mind, and, in a still higher degree, the extraneous pleas for liberalism in religion and politics. Most interesting seems to me the conspicuously French character of the hero; for this is a type to which Schiller clung with peculiar tenacity in all his later dramas. *Don Carlos*, *Max Piccolomini*, *Mortimer*, *Lionel*, *Arnold Melchtal*—these are

the heroes who are held up to the German schoolboy of to-day as ideals of German youth; and even Richard Wagner, writing as late as 1868, expressed himself with warmth about Schiller's "deutscher Jüngling."⁵⁵ One has, however, only to compare these types with Clavigo, Brackenburg, Faust, or with Schiller's own Ferdinand, not to speak of similar figures in the dramas of Kleist, Grillparzer, and Hebbel, to see how slight is the claim of this "deutscher Jüngling" to be regarded as a specifically national type. Schiller's favourite hero is, in fact, no other than the ideal youth of Klopstock and the "Sturm und Drang," metamorphosed under the influence of French cosmopolitanism: this chosen vehicle of the poet's German idealism—and to riper minds a stumbling-block to the appreciation of his dramas—is, in reality, the *jeune premier* of the French theatre of the eighteenth century, the noble, passionate, enthusiastic youth, exemplified in characters like Titus, Nérestan, Zamore, Ramire, Séide, and Arzace, which Voltaire set in the place of the calmer, more delicately strung lovers of the seventeenth century. Not that Schiller directly or consciously imitated Voltaire, but this type had already found its way on to the

German stage, and *Don Carlos* is the immediate successor of such Voltairean heroes as Weisse's *Krispus*, Cronegk's *Olinte*, and Brawe's *Marcius*.⁵⁶

In complying with the demand of the age that the drama should be raised to a higher poetic plane than that on which stood the productions of the immediately preceding period, Schiller thus elected to follow Lessing and Voltaire rather than Shakespeare and Goethe. It may be argued that Schiller's peculiar caste of mind, his love of abstract ideas, made the change inevitable; that the eighteenth century type of tragedy, as perfected by Voltaire and Lessing, in which personality was subordinated to ideas, was more in harmony with Schiller's temperament than the Shakespearean tragedy, where personality and character were supreme, and ideas only natural deductions from these. Or we may be less personal, and urge that the poet's greatness lay in having raised the drama from the confusion of the "Geniezeit" to a purified and well-ordered classicism; in other words, that he discovered that middle way between the English and French drama which Wieland believed to be the salvation of German tragedy. But this would involve a fallacy: while Schiller believed

that he was striking a middle way between the English and the French, he was merely avoiding the stiff absurdities of the French classic drama, disregarding its "rules." As far, at least, as Shakespeare was concerned, this was the extent of the compromise; for, in all essentials, he had abandoned the Shakespearean drama. He had given up that specifically Germanic type of tragedy in which the individual, the personality, is the fulcrum of the action, and where dramatic conflicts proceed naturally from the relations of one soul to other souls or to the outside world. In its place, he accepted the Latin conception of tragedy, in which the stage becomes a chess-board, on which simplified types of humanity—interesting, not in themselves, but for the virtues or vices they embody—are set in motion by the deft hand of their creator.

Thus, whether owing to inward necessity or as a result of untoward influences, Schiller took the critical step—a step which, in view of the best interests of German poetry, was a step backwards. The cosmopolitan spirit of his century proved too strong for him; he abandoned the attempt to create a specifically national drama, and once more brought German tragedy under

the sway of Latin ideals—that is the significance of *Don Carlos*. In other words, Schiller achieved what, a generation earlier, Gottsched had been deposed for attempting: he betrayed the Germanic drama to Voltaire. And, as we shall see, the remainder of Schiller's career as a dramatist was virtually spent in the quest for a national form for the German drama, in fighting against the consequences of this fatal step.

In a letter which the actor Schröder wrote from Vienna in September 1783 to Dalberg, he said: "It is a pity for Schiller's talent that he has taken up a course which will be the ruin of the German theatre. . . . I hate him for having reopened a path which had already been swept away."⁵⁷ The writer was thinking of Schiller's early plays. It is the irony of time that we might to-day apply those very words to the poet of *Don Carlos*.

IV.

AS HISTORIAN AND PHILOSOPHER

Der Trieb nach Beschäftigung mit abstrakten Ideen, das Streben alles Endliche in ein grosses Bild zu fassen und es an das Unendliche anzuknüpfen, lag von selbst und ohne fremden Anstoss in Schiller; es war mit seiner Individualität gegeben.

—W. VON HUMBOLDT.⁵⁸



AS HISTORIAN AND PHILOSOPHER.

THERE is a tendency, even among critics who are otherwise favourably disposed towards Schiller's genius, to look askance at his preoccupation with history and philosophy, either for Goethe's reason,⁵⁹ that it was detrimental to his poetic mission, or on the ground that a poet must needs be only a dilettante in scientific investigations and abstract thought. It is, of course, easy to reproach a poet for not abiding by the last of creative work, but in Schiller's case we are not justified either in saying that his poetry was unfavourably influenced by his abstract studies, or that philosophy could easily have dispensed with his services. The deep metaphysical undercurrent in his mind must be reckoned with: it is as strongly apparent in the pursuits and tastes of the "Karlsschüler" as in the Kantian philosopher and classical dramatist of a later date. Indeed, it is quest-

ionable if any of the so-called metaphysical poets, from Lucretius onwards, were so metaphysically constituted as Schiller; and there is no doubt that—whatever we may say of his dramatic poetry—the Schiller who wrote *Die Künstler* and *Das Ideal und das Leben* stands at the very head of the philosophical poets of the world's literature. I, at least, know of nothing in which poetry is made the vehicle of abstract thought with such perfect success as in these philosophical lyrics. To ascribe Schiller's metaphysical tendencies to his study of Kant is thus incorrect: he was naturally endowed with the power of thinking abstractly, and when he turned seriously to the study of philosophy, soon proved that he was able to speak with authority. Further, we must not forget how intimately poetry and philosophy were associated in the eighteenth century: the hard-and-fast boundaries which later generations set up were then non-existent; philosophy was regarded as an aid, and not as a hindrance, to artistic expression. And more especially for a poet like Schiller, whose self-chosen realm was an abstract one, whose mission was to justify the ways of God to man in the spirit of a

rationalistic age, the study of history and philosophy was as essential as to the poet of *Zaire* and *Mahomet*. A naïver poet like Shakespeare or Goethe might not have passed unscathed through the intense intellectual abstraction to which Schiller subjected himself, but on him these studies only acted beneficially; the philosophic basis was as necessary to his poetry as the power of being able to clothe his abstract generalisations in historical costume. If *Wallenstein* is superior to *Don Carlos*, the fact must, in great measure, be attributed to Schiller's historical and philosophical studies.⁶⁰

The theme "Schiller as Historian"⁶¹ presents few difficulties or complications; his defects and excellences in this field lie, as it were, on the surface. A letter to Körner, written on April 15, 1786,⁶² marks the point of time at which the poet began to interest himself in history: for five years he devoted himself to this study with an application and zeal such as he had given to no other, not even to the Kantian philosophy. What these years meant for Schiller's development, in completing the break with the subjective standpoint of his youth—which had been based on Rousseau's teaching—and prepar-

ing the way for that objectivity which is displayed in his later historical dramas, can hardly be overestimated.⁶³

But we are here more concerned with Schiller's positive achievements as a historian. He planned an ambitious *Geschichte des Abfalls der vereinigten Niederlande von der spanischen Regierung*, of which, however, only the first volume appeared in 1788. He edited a volume of memoirs on what remained, throughout his life, his favourite province of history, "the most remarkable rebellions and conspiracies"; another series *Allgemeine Sammlung historischer Memoires*, more successful than the first, was continued by other hands until after Schiller's death. He also published a number of historical essays, and, lastly, wrote for a *Historischer Kalender für Damen*, his most popular historical work, the *Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges*.

With regard to the intrinsic merits of these writings, it may be said at once that the only one which has real value as a contribution to historical science is the *History of the Revolt of the Netherlands*. Schiller could not, it is true, pretend to a mastery even of the somewhat scanty materials then at the disposal of the

historian, but his statement of the facts is, in the main, trustworthy; and although he champions warmly the cause of liberty, for which *Don Carlos* had been so eloquent a plea, he does not allow himself to be blinded to conspicuous merits in the opposing party. We are not nowadays inclined to rate Schiller's favourite hero, William of Orange, so highly as is done here, but the poet's clear-cut portraits, especially of the minor *dramatis personæ* in the great struggle, manifestly served as models to later historians. The *History of the Thirty Years' War*, on the other hand, although more attractive to the general reader, is less satisfactory as history. The Rebellion of the Netherlands could, without detriment, be discussed in the spirit of the eighteenth century's revolt against Lutheran orthodoxy, but when Schiller adopts the same method in describing the Thirty Years' War, the inconsistency is at once apparent: the Thirty Years' War was a religious war, but it was not by any means a struggle for intellectual freedom, as the age of the "Aufklärung" understood that word. Schiller had here not the same grasp of facts and motives as is to be observed in his first history; the

execution of the work is also more superficial and perfunctory. But the literary side of the *Thirty Years' War* has, as it were, benefited by freedom from the tyranny of facts; the poet has fuller play to mould the leaders of the war in accordance with his own dramatic imagination, to bring into stronger relief the dramatic moments,—to apply, in other words, the great simplifying art of Plutarch, his first master in history, to the most complicated period of all modern history.

In judging Schiller as a historian, we must be careful to avoid the error of applying to him criteria that belong to the age of Ranke. Even the greatest historians of the eighteenth century were not averse to accept their facts at second hand, and archives, even when accessible, were not systematically ransacked. The picturesque, unscientific presentment of facts, the philosophical outlook, were, we might say, among the most prized virtues of historical writing at this time. The point, however, which has to be emphasised is that, even in 1788, Schiller was a historian of an old school; the most discerning among his contemporaries must have felt that he was not abreast of the move-

ment of the times. Schiller had learned how to write history from Plutarch, from Montesquieu, from Hume, and Robertson,—with the last he had been familiar since the days when he planned *Fiesco*,—and, more than from any of these, from Voltaire, whose *Charles XII.* called forth his warm enthusiasm.⁶⁴ These were his masters in practice, but unfortunately he himself approached history from the philosophical side. His first serious interest in the subject had been awakened by two articles of Kant's, *Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht* and *Bestimmung des Begriffs einer Menschenrace*, which he read—it was his first acquaintance with Kant as a writer—in 1787. In these essays the Königsberg philosopher gave expression to the teleological, *a priori* attitude to the facts of the past, which had been put into practice by Iselin, the typical German historian of the “Aufklärung.” This interpretation of history, in which the “Weltgeschichte” is, as it were, forced into the rôle of the “Weltgericht,” appealed at once to Schiller's rationalistic mind; he considered it the most fascinating province of the historian's work to cover the bare skeleton of facts with the nerves and

muscles of poetic invention, to bring the course of events into agreement with a higher philosophic harmony.⁶⁵

As a consequence of his predilection for Kant, Schiller did not see that, under the influence of the "Sturm und Drang," which, by this time, he himself had left behind, Germany was building up a new conception of history that was of momentous importance for the future. His Kantism rendered him inaccessible to what was most vital in the teaching and practice of men like Herder, Abbt, and Möser. Once, it is true, in a letter to Körner,⁶⁶ we hear an echo of the more advanced thought of the time—the national significance of history, the idea that it should chronicle the doings, not merely of the rulers of a people, but of the people itself; but there is no question of Schiller putting, as Möser had attempted to do in his *Osnabrückische Geschichte*, this view into practice. And although three volumes of Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, a work which had virtually given the *a priori* method its deathblow, appeared before Schiller published a line of his own on history, he held fast to his early convictions.⁶⁷ What in-

terested him was, after all, not Herder's new way of looking at the evolution of the human race, but rather the reflex of that writer's ideas on the familiar canons of rationalism.

There remains the virtue of literary form. Schiller's histories are said to have taught German historians the lesson of style, and one does not need to do more than dip into the writings of Schiller's predecessors, such as Schröckh, Gatterer, Iselin, to understand how necessary was the lesson. Schiller's prose style, regarded artistically, is certainly superior to that of other German historians in the eighteenth century: it has architectural and imaginative qualities of which they have no conception; it is rarely diffuse, although occasionally turgid and rhetorical. There is no difficulty in choosing, as far as the quality of the writing is concerned, between the *Revolt of the Netherlands* or the *Thirty Years' War*, and, say, Johann von Müller's *Geschichte Schweizerischer Eidgenossenschaft*. Yet there is something in Müller's straightforward, unvarnished narration of events, dull although it be, which is more in accordance with the dignity of history as a science, than the roll and splendour of Schiller's eighteenth

century periods.⁶⁸ It has to be remembered, too, that it was this book of Müller's, and not Schiller's historical writings, which laid the foundations of modern German historiography. What distinguishes Schiller from his contemporaries is not style in the narrow sense of that word,—it is rather the power of artistic presentment. Schiller sees history plastically, dramatically; he is able to heighten colours and deepen shadows, to touch the imagination of his readers. But, as he himself has shown, this power of seeing events “across a temperament,” or, in Hebbel's phrase, “reflecting the world upon an individual background,” is a faculty of the poet which may prove a dangerous gift in a historian.

We may thus say that, as a historian, Schiller's mission was similar to that of Voltaire in France: he introduced into the style and methods of German historical writing certain vitalising elements; like his French predecessor, he wrote history with a philosophic purpose. If, on the other hand, his histories mean little to us to-day, it is not because German history, having advanced from an art to a science, despises qualities that lend it attractiveness, but rather

because Schiller, no less than the Voltaire who wrote the *Siecle de Louis XIV.* or *Charles XII.*, was a historian of the "Aufklärung," and oblivious to the point of view which, first broached by Herder, has dominated the whole nineteenth century.

Schiller's philosophy forms a more important chapter in his life.⁶⁹ Just as his historical period began with his serious study of history in 1787, so we may say that his philosophic period dates from his occupation with Kant's philosophical writings in 1791. To understand Schiller's position with regard to Kant, it is, however, necessary to look in passing at the genesis and early development of his philosophical ideas.⁷⁰

The basis was laid in the years 1778-80 at the Military Academy: at the hands of one of his teachers, J. F. Abel, Schiller received in a cut-and-dried form the philosophy on which at least two generations of his countrymen had been brought up, the optimistic utilitarianism of Leibniz and Wolff. He grew up in the creed of the so-called "Populärphilosophen," who gave rationalism the form which proved most palatable to the German people—that is to say, a rationalism tempered by the influence of Scottish moralists

like Hutcheson and Ferguson, and, above all, by Shaftesbury. The chief document of the poet's earlier studies is the *Philosophischen Briefe*, which were written in Dresden as a continuation of the *Briefe des Julius an Raphael* of some years earlier. Here Schiller presents, in the person of Julius, his own philosophic faith in opposition to the views of Körner (Raphael), who, already a convert to the critical philosophy, had hitherto tried in vain to induce Schiller to study Kant. And to the same time as the *Philosophischen Briefe* belongs the noble didactic poem, *Die Künstler*, which, as has been well said,⁷¹ opens Schiller's philosophic period, while *Das Ideal und das Leben* stands at its close.

In the year 1791 Schiller was struck down by the severe illness which finally undermined his health; and towards the end of that year he received, it will be remembered, the generous offer of a pension of a thousand thalers for three years from the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Augustenburg and his minister, Graf von Schimmelmann. He had already begun the study of Kant's æsthetics—the *Kritik der Urteilskraft* was published in 1791—and on the 1st of January 1792 he informed Körner of his resolve to spend,

if necessary, the three years during which he was to be free from money cares in mastering the Kantian philosophy.⁷² The first-fruits of this resolution were two essays, published in the first and second parts of the *Neue Thalia*, entitled *Über den Grund des Vergnügens an tragischen Gegenständen* and *Über die tragische Kunst*. These mark the transition in Schiller's thought from the purely eudaimonistic philosophy of his first period to the Kantian standpoint of his later years: in neither of the essays, however, has he succeeded in reconciling the conflicting views.

His first positive achievement on the basis of Kant's æsthetics, and in furtherance of that thinker's standpoint, was to have been a treatise entitled *Kallias, oder über die Schönheit*. This was, however, neither finished nor published, and to learn its scope and contents—or, at least, part thereof—we are obliged to turn to four important letters written to Körner in February 1793.⁷³ These letters are, in many respects, the freshest, most original of all Schiller's philosophical writings; in none of his books does he display a greater mastery over the methods of philosophic inquiry, in none does he appear so completely convinced of the truth of his theorem. The

Kallias letters were an attempt to supplement Kant, to fill up a *lacuna* in his system. Kant had maintained that the idea of beauty was subjective, and that personal taste lay outside the control of logical principles. The problem which Schiller set himself was to refute this doctrine,—to discover some objective quality in the beautiful object, something by virtue of which it was what we call beautiful. And this he believed he had found in the quality of “*Freiheit in der Erscheinung.*” Nothing, he said, is actually free, or, in Kant’s phrase, “self-determined,” in the universe; all things are mutually dependent on one another, subject to other than their own laws; but in proportion as freedom is attained, the intrinsic excellence of an object rises. Now beauty deals, not with things in themselves, but with the appearance of things, and in so far as objects *appear* free, they are beautiful. This idea was clearly influenced by the conception of the beautiful object as a self-determined whole, which Herder, Goethe, and, above all, Moritz had taught; but Schiller’s logical exposition of the idea, and his application of it to the general problem of æsthetics, is his own, and it seems to me worthy of a philosophic mind of the first

order: the poet has given us no greater, more penetrating deduction than that implied in the definition of beauty as "Freiheit in der Erscheinung." It soon, however, became obvious that he had not wholly understood the problem as it presented itself to Kant's mind. He was ultimately obliged to admit that that philosopher was right in denying the possibility of an objective criterion of beauty: in other words, the quality of "freedom in appearance" cannot be inherent in an object, but rather we, the thinking "subject," must first endow the object with it.

But the fallacy in Schiller's argument by no means destroyed its value as a contribution to the practical solution of the æsthetic problem; for, as we shall see, his *Aesthetische Erziehung des Menschen*, a work of very great importance, is an immediate deduction from that first unpublished treatise. Moreover, the whole tendency of the *Kallias*, apart from the success or want of success of Schiller's effort to widen the Kantian æsthetics, helps us to understand the character of the poet's mind. The need which he felt for an absolute, objective definition of beauty proves how deeply the pre-Kantian philosophy was engrained upon him: not one of the older

æstheticians, from the Cartesians onwards, had shrunk from defining beauty. They had defined it, it is true, as something comprehended by and in harmony with reason, and they had confused it with the idea of perfection or conformity to a certain end; but, whatever form their definition took, they were, at least, at one in the opinion that beauty was the outcome of inherent, objective qualities. The positive teaching on this point of Hutcheson, whom Schiller had studied carefully in Garve's translation, was as present to his mind as Kant's criticism. The problem was thus, as it were, forced on him by the course of his studies, and the need of solving it sprang from a desire on Schiller's part to reconcile the critical philosophy with that of Kant's predecessors. The definition of beauty as "*Freiheit in der Erscheinung*" was a brave attempt to solve in a Kantian way a problem which Kant had declared to be insoluble. Schiller failed in his search for an objective criterion of beauty, but, like Winckelmann's famous characterisation of antique art, the magic formula "*Freiheit in der Erscheinung*" formed a turning-point in the history of German æsthetics; it helped to raise to a higher plane the favourite dogma of the

eighteenth century, the interdependence of art and morality.

Having satisfied himself as to the nature of beauty, Schiller turned to consider some more special points in the system of Kant's æsthetics. In the essays, *Über Anmut und Würde* and *Vom Erhabenen*, which appeared in the *Neue Thalia* in the course of the year 1793, he attempted to fill up other *lacunæ*, or to correct what appeared to him to be errors in the Kantian theory: in particular, he felt the necessity of defining his own position with regard to the most radical theorem in Kant's æsthetics, the dissociation of beauty from interest (*interesseloser Wohlgefallen*). Schiller, it is clear, clung as tenaciously to the "moral" conception of beauty, which had been stamped on his mind at an early stage by Shaftesbury, as to its objective definition, and he again proceeded to reconcile this standpoint and Kant's by means of a compromise. He takes the case of beauty in the human form, and finds, on analysing it, certain aspects in which it is free from all extraneous "interest," and consequently corresponds to Kant's definition. But, he goes on to prove, there is another form of beauty which emanates, or appears to emanate, from the

human form as an expression of the personality behind it, and this he defines as "Anmut," a word obviously intended to translate Shaftesbury's "grace." This "technical" beauty is opposed to the purely æsthetic or "architectonic" form of beauty, in so far as it is a beauty of movement; but, in order that movement may appear beautiful, it must express a sentiment, a moral feeling or idea. And just as "grace" is the embodiment of "moral beauty," so "Würde," or dignity, is the expression of the morally sublime: it represents man's victory over his baser nature, the triumph of reason over sense.

Thus, by an ingenious chain of reasoning, Schiller defended the traditional doctrine of the eighteenth century against Kant's attack. But he went a step further. Having established the inseparableness of beauty—or, at least, a certain form of beauty—and morality, he proceeded in the light of this union to criticise Kant's conception of the moral. Kant had, with characteristic ruthlessness, broken the easy-going, self-satisfied system of eighteenth-century ethics; his conception of a "categorical imperative" of duty, of the triumph of spiritual freedom through the moral education of the will, had, by destroying

the shallow ethics of the popular philosophers, acted as a magnificent tonic on the spiritual life of Germany. Here, again, Schiller confronted Kant as a champion of the older rationalistic morality. His harmony-loving mind was repelled by the shrill dissonances in the critical philosophy; he could not reconcile himself to the antagonism of inclination and duty which Kant insisted upon as the fundamental conditions of spiritual freedom and the higher moral life. The perfect life, said Schiller with the thinkers of Leibniz's school, cannot be built up on dissonances; the ideal is only to be attained by educating man's inclinations to such a point that they are wholly compatible with his duties; the oneness of inclination and duty is the triumph of the moral life. In other words, duty must cease to be the harsh, categorical imperative it appeared to Kant, and become a pleasure. This was Schiller's conception of the highest "freedom,"—the freedom from the despotism of the will,—in which he saw the goal of the human race. It seems to me, consequently, that the poet's real place in the history of philosophy is not as Kant's successor, but rather as the immediate disciple of Shaftesbury; his mission

was, with the help of the new critical methods, to bring Shaftesbury's moral and æsthetic ideas to their fullest development.

These studies formed the preliminary to a work in which Schiller proceeded to apply practically the results he had just arrived at. This was the *Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* (1795),⁷⁴ which originated in a series of private letters written by the poet to his patron the Duke of Augustenburg. Beauty, he had proved, was "freedom in appearance," and the beautiful is an integral element in the moral life. The quality of freedom, it is true, may only be imputed to the object by the mind which perceives its beauty, but it behoves us, all the more, to educate our minds so that they are capable of appreciating the beautiful,—of, in philosophic phrase, attributing freedom to objects. Schiller now regarded beauty as, to use Kant's term, an "imperative."⁷⁵ In art, in the æsthetic sense, or "play-impulse," he saw the liberator from the tyranny of those extremes which destroy the harmony of human life—from sensualism on the one side and calculating reason on the other, from egotism and self-sacrifice: it is this play-impulse, he said, which guides man to freedom

and perfection. Such is, in its practical aspects at least, the dominant idea of the *Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen*. The doctrine of "æsthetic education" which Schiller here set forth was of vital importance to the progress of German culture. Like Lessing's *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*,—a book, the tendency of which is practically identical with Schiller's,—these *Letters* form a pinnacle of that magnificent edifice of rationalistic humanism which Germany erected in the eighteenth century. But, at the same time, it is not possible to overlook the essentially retrospective character of Schiller's ideas: his *Aesthetische Erziehung* represents, we might say, the last transformation of that union between art and morality, which was as characteristic of the eighteenth century as the famous marriage of Philology and Mercury of medieval scholasticism. The poet's dream of a perfectly harmonious life is the fulfilment of that ideal humanism which was first outlined in Germany by Leibniz in the *Theodicée*. In his soaring optimism, Schiller firmly believed, with his great predecessor, that the world we live in is the best conceivable world.

The treatise *Über naive und sentimentalische*

Dichtung,⁷⁶ which followed the *Aesthetische Briefe* in the *Horen* for 1795, is Schiller's last word on that branch of practical æsthetics most nearly concerning himself—the art of poetry. Although regarded as a reasoned investigation into a special province of æsthetics, the work seems deficient in the originality and intuitive power of Schiller's first contribution to the Kantian controversy in 1793; and although, in the sweep of its thought, it is inferior to the work which immediately preceded it, yet, as Gervinus has observed,⁷⁷ it is indispensable to the understanding of the German literary spirit in the eighteenth century. It contains the *ars poetica* of German classical poetry, and even helped to mould the theory of criticism in the subsequent Romantic age.

The twofold character of this work, in which Schiller applied the results of his philosophy to literature, has been so frequently insisted upon that it needs no further emphasis. Written in the winter of 1795-96, *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* was, in the first instance, an investigation into the respective merits of ancient and modern poetry, and, in the second, a document *pro domo*, a plea for Schiller's own particular type of modern, reflective talent, as

opposed to Goethe's naïve "Greek" genius. The fundamental thought of the treatise is the conception of the "naïve," which was, we might say, in the air when Schiller wrote. The idea of "naïve," as applied to literature, had been set forth by Herder, and, even before him, Winckelmann had asserted naïveté to be an essential element, if not in Greek poetry, at least in Greek art;⁷⁸ Mendelssohn had defined the idea philosophically, and Kant had virtually accepted his definition. The conception of "sentimental poetry," on the other hand, seems to have been Schiller's own; but, like a true Kantian, he arrived at it not from observation, but by a process of logical deduction. His "sentimental" is, to use the technical term of German transcendentalism, the antinomy of the naïve. Schiller's textbook of Poetics is planned on deductive, *a priori* lines; unlike modern works on the theory of poetry, it is not based on the investigation of existing facts or the study of literary history. Instead, Schiller, as Boileau and Gottsched had done before him, legislates for the poets, although he does not, in the same way, attempt to control their practice: he sets up his theory of the twofold char-

acter of poetry, which he has arrived at by abstract reasoning, and, like an intellectual Procrustes, forcibly fits the facts of literature into the bed of this theory. Schiller's way of looking at literature belonged as exclusively to the age of the "Aufklärung" as did his ideas on political history: in both cases he ignored the principle and consequences of historical development. Here again it was Herder, the most advanced thinker of the eighteenth century, who laid down the lines which the nineteenth century followed; it was Herder who first correlated literature and historical evolution, and saw in poetic forms, as in human institutions, a natural growth conditioned by human needs.⁷⁹

In spite of the repugnance with which Schiller's transcendental attitude towards literature inspired them, the younger Romantic generation borrowed freely from him. They refused to countenance his *a priori* legislation, or those boundaries and definitions which he defended as warmly as Lessing himself, but they recognised in his dualism a justification for their own existence. The designation of the two chief tendencies of the new

epoch as "classic" and "romantic"⁸⁰ is to be traced back to the antithesis of "naïve" and "sentimental"; the æsthetic theories of the brothers Schlegel, in their earliest developments, and more especially Friedrich Schlegel's views on Greek poetry, were profoundly influenced by Schiller's doctrines;⁸¹ and the ingenious hypothesis of the "play-impulse," from the *Briefe über ästhetische Erziehung*, reappears as one of the chief features of the Romantic practice,—the famous "Romantic irony" which the new school regarded as the highest manifestation of poetic art.⁸²

Thus Schiller the philosopher is open to be criticised in the same way as Schiller the historian: he looks backwards rather than forwards. Born in an age in which two opposing forces were struggling for mastery, he threw in his lot with the force of tradition rather than with that of progress: he ranged himself with the leaders of the "Aufklärung." He deliberately adopted the deductive method of Kant, and applied it, not as Kant's successors in the field of speculative philosophy, in a manner that harmonised with the historical and individualistic ideals of

Romanticism, but in the spirit of the older thinkers of the eighteenth century. In other words, he endeavoured to reconcile the critical philosophy with the rationalism that had preceded it.

V.

THE LATER DRAMAS

Nicht Muster zwar darf uns der Franke werden,
Aus seiner Kunst spricht kein lebend'ger Geist,
Des falschen Anstands prunkende Gebärden
Verschmäht der Sinn, der nur das wahre preisst !
Ein Führer nur zum Bessern soll er werden,
Er komme, wie ein abgeschiedener Geist,
Zu reinigen die oft entweihte Scene
Zum würd'gen Sitz der alten Melpomene.

—SCHILLER.⁸³

THE LATER DRAMAS.

"EVERY drama of Schiller's was virtually a new experiment; he always set out from the love of art, always with the desire to conquer a new side of it, and I doubt if the great series of his dramatic productions gives us the final result." The feature in Schiller's work to which these words from a letter of Humboldt's to Goethe⁸⁴ refer, is one which invariably presents itself to the reader. More especially from the group of classic dramas, from *Wallenstein* to *Wilhelm Tell*, do we carry away the impression that the poet was experimenting in poetic forms hitherto untried by his countrymen. From the wide panorama and motley scene of the Thirty Years' War he turned, in *Maria Stuart*, to describe the fate of a queen under conditions almost as narrow and commonplace as those which hemmed in the "tragedy of common life"; for his next drama, *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, he

chose the resplendent world of Romantic mediævalism, where he could give full play to his own poetic optimism; and this—strangest contrast of all—was succeeded by the sinister and brooding pessimism of *Die Braut von Messina*. Ultimately, in *Wilhelm Tell*, he returned, still unsatisfied, to a panoramic historical tragedy, which, however, was less weighted by extraneous theory, less hampered in its movement by antique rules, than *Wallenstein* had been. All these are, it seems to me, to be regarded as experiments, attempts to discover a new form of dramatic poetry. Goethe himself singled out for notice this progressive feature of Schiller's genius, Richard Wagner laid special emphasis upon it, and Carlyle had it in view when he described the later dramas as “those kingdoms conquered from the barren Realms of Darkness.”⁸⁵ We might perhaps go still further, and say, as I have done elsewhere, that this peculiar restlessness, this striving after variety of form, is a distinguishing trait of the Germanic mind, and characteristic of all the representative German dramatists from Lessing to Gerhart Hauptmann.

But another explanation is conceivable, at all events in Schiller's case: his constant experi-

menting may have been due to the fact that no satisfactory form for the national German drama had yet been discovered. Schiller was himself not convinced that he had found the right vehicle of expression for what he had to say; he had not that assured sense of being on the only possible path, which is to be observed in the great dramatists of other literatures. In his suggestive account of the æsthetic theories of Goethe and Schiller at the turn of the century, Hettner endeavours to explain Schiller's wavering methods by saying that the poet's aim was to combine the ancient "fate" tragedy with the modern "character" tragedy of Shakespeare.⁸⁶ The formula is attractive, but a closer study of its application to the individual dramas shows that the problem is not so simple as Hettner would have us believe. To begin with, it seems to rest on a misapprehension of the attitude which, at this time, Goethe and Schiller took up towards Shakespeare. It is true the English poet was often discussed in their letters; his plays appeared frequently on the Weimar stage; Goethe, we know, prepared a version of *Romeo and Juliet* for the theatre, and Schiller one of *Macbeth*. But the opinions of the two

poets about Shakespeare were very different from the unmeasured enthusiasm of the "Sturm und Drang"; their views coincided, more or less, with Lessing's, or with those which, as we have seen, were familiar to Schiller in his Mannheim days. If, consequently, Schiller's dramas from *Wallenstein* to *Demetrius* are to be regarded as an attempt to create a national German tragedy by combining the antique with the modern, Sophocles with Shakespeare, it must at the same time not be forgotten that Schiller was more impressed by the analogies—real or imaginary—between these poets than by their dissimilarity, and that his conception of the "modern" in Shakespeare was peculiarly limited.⁸⁷

With *Don Carlos* Schiller had, once for all, abandoned the essential principles of Shakespeare's *technique*; he had looked to French classic tragedy for his models, and had adopted French methods of dramatic presentation. When, in 1796, he again turned his attention to the drama, he was still convinced that the only hope for German tragedy lay in its development on the lines laid down in *Don Carlos*. In other words, Schiller believed—and Goethe shared his opinion—that poetry must avoid a narrowly

national basis, and aim rather at expressing widely acceptable ideas, with the help of cosmopolitan methods; that, in particular, the German drama must be brought into harmony with the masterpieces of Greek and French genius. There was thus no question of reverting to Shakespeare, or, at least, to Shakespeare as he was understood by the poets and critics of the "Geniezeit."

At the same time, Schiller no longer stood at the level of *Don Carlos*; his ideas of tragedy had gained in depth and breadth. He is now no longer satisfied with the rhetorical pathos of Campistron and Voltaire; he has appreciation for the more delicate poetic beauties of Corneille and Racine;⁸⁸ above all things, he has taken the same step as, in an earlier generation, Elias Schlegel, from the Renaissance attitude towards the antique to that which we now associate with the later eighteenth century. Schiller still holds with Lessing that the drama must be rigidly Aristotelian—an application of Aristotle's principles to modern themes; its *technique* must, in essentials, be that of Sophocles applied to modern historical themes and the conditions of modern life.⁸⁹ The difficulty which Schiller was

constantly seeking to overcome was not how to reconcile the Shakespearean character-tragedy with the tragedy of the Greeks, as he understood the latter, but how to adapt Greek tragedy to his own faith in the freedom of the will; and if Shakespeare came into question, it was only in so far as Schiller felt that the English dramatist more than any other had, without offending against the spirit of Aristotle's canon, embodied in his tragedy what Kant called the "Selbst-bestimmung des Menschen."

Just as Schiller's occupation with *Don Carlos* had led him to take an interest in history, so now, as a consequence of his historical studies, he was finding his way back to poetry; but whereas his chief historical work had been the immediate outcome of *Don Carlos*, a period of intense preoccupation with the philosophy of Kant lay between the *Thirty Years' War* and *Wallenstein*.⁹⁰ A comparison of this trilogy, or rather tragedy, with *Don Carlos* gives us some insight into the principles which guided Schiller in reconstructing his art. It is possible, however, that the transition from the one work to the other was more gradual than is to be inferred from the form which *Wallenstein* ultimately as-

sumed. If Hoffmeister is to be trusted,⁹¹ the first plan of the latter drama resembled *Don Carlos* in the same way as the Bauerbach *Don Carlos* resembled *Kabale und Liebe*. The hero, Wallenstein, was conceived on the lines of Marquis Posa, and the drama was, moreover, to have been written in prose. However this may be, the finished work was, like its predecessor, not the "blossom of a single summer," but rather the result of long and careful meditation. Schiller did not enter upon his task until he had arrived at clear ideas as to the nature and theory of tragedy, and the ethical problem involved in Wallenstein's fall was readjusted to suit the requirements of the new philosophy.

We might say that the constructive advance of *Wallenstein*, in comparison with *Don Carlos*, was in the main due to the study of Greek models: the plot of the earlier tragedy had been unmistakably French in character, whereas Wallenstein's fate is brought about, or is at least presented as if it were brought about, by a mysterious, supernatural power, which, like the fate that crushes Oedipus, is beyond human control. In *Don Carlos* Schiller had frankly drawn upon his own personal feelings and sym-

pathies, but, instead of expressing them directly, as in his earlier plays, he had simplified, pruned, and fashioned them according to his French models. At the same time, his attitude to characters and sentiments was still essentially personal. Under Goethe's guidance, however, he learned that the classic spirit in literature or art was incompatible with subjectivity; that the true classic poet must avoid putting into his work himself or his own sympathies or antipathies. Now the historical Wallenstein was admirably adapted to such treatment, for the poet had never felt warmly attracted by him. In November 1796, before he had proceeded very far with the drama, we find him writing to Goethe: "With regard to the spirit in which I am working, you will probably be satisfied with me. . . . I might almost say that the subject does not interest me at all. I have never combined such coolness towards my theme with such a warmth of feeling for my work. The principal character and most of the subordinate characters are, so far, handled with the pure love of the artist."⁹²

But it was not easy for the poet who had written *Don Carlos* to adapt himself to so ob-

jective an ideal of poetry as he here set before him, and, before long, he is obliged to have recourse once again to the French method in order to supply the note of sympathy his nature demanded: he invents a pair of youthful lovers on whom he is able to lavish that personal affection and enthusiasm for which he had otherwise no outlet. Max and Thekla are analogous to the lovers of the French classic tragedy,⁹³ and, like the latter, become involved in the political conflict. In seeking the antique, Schiller, like so many literary reformers before him, did not despise the help of the French classics of the seventeenth century. But the incongruity is at once evident: in Corneille and Racine the love episodes are in a certain stylistic harmony with the character of the later Renaissance tragedy, while here in *Wallenstein* the scenes in which Max and Thekla appear are wholly incompatible with the less idealised and less conventional historical background of the drama. Had Schiller turned even to Voltaire, his first master in the art of writing classically, he would have found no precedent for the vagaries of the love plot of *Wallenstein*; for, whatever were the defects of Voltaire's dramas, that poet had too acute

a sense for the fitness of things to tolerate so shadowy and unmanly a hero as Max Piccolomini, or one so little in keeping with the spirit of the tragedy. Indeed, from Voltaire Schiller might have learned the best lesson of all—that in such a drama sentimental episodes were an unnecessary theatrical concession.⁹⁴

Wallenstein is obviously a tragedy in the classic style. The leaders of the Thirty Years' War are not put naturally upon the stage and allowed to enact what history records of them; their sayings and doings are rather regulated by a preconceived theory of human motive and action, which the poet, under the influence of Kant's interpretation of the moral law, dictates to them; they are not plastic creations, drawn with the unflinching truth of Germanic individualism, but types; and if, as such, they are superior to the Voltairean figures of *Don Carlos*, it is an advance in the manner, not of Shakespeare, but of Sophocles. In other words, Schiller passed with *Wallenstein* from the generalising methods of Voltaire's tragedy to the Greek conception of the type, more especially as exemplified in Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* or *Natürliche Tochter*.

It is as difficult to understand why *Wallenstein* should be regarded as Schiller's masterpiece—a frequently expressed opinion—as it is to sympathise with the virulent antipathy of critics like Otto Ludwig.⁹⁵ There is, it is true, a spacious poetic atmosphere in *Wallenstein*, a lofty swing in the hero's monologues; the dramatic possibilities of the theme are greater than those of any of Schiller's subsequent subjects; but, in the art of the dramatist, Schiller is still to some extent feeling his way. The place of *Wallenstein* is at the beginning of the last stage in Schiller's career, and from first to last that career was a steady progress towards higher things. It seems to me impossible to rank *Wallenstein*, regarded as a drama *per se*, even with *Maria Stuart*. Whatever its merits or demerits, it is certainly not the great national drama which the Thirty Years' War deserves; for, like Schiller's historical writings, this, his one tragedy on a subject taken from national history, is lacking in historical background. His insight into the conditions of the time had, it is true, taught him how necessary the historical background was, if *Wallenstein*'s fall was to be made clear and convincing to his readers or hearers: what

he did not comprehend was that such an elucidation lay beyond the power of classic art. The picture of Wallenstein's camp, which forms the prologue to the tragedy proper, although a masterpiece of its kind, does not help us to realise that the tragedy plays amidst the most devastating and terrible war in the annals of modern nations. Schiller's art, and classic art in general, is not adapted to reproduce national movements and events involving the welfare of a people; the poet was here trying to do in an un-German way what he could only have effected by calling to his aid the resources of the Shakespearean drama.

It was perhaps a certain half-conscious feeling of this kind, a presentiment that his methods were not suitable for tragedies of such wide issue or of so panoramic a type as *Wallenstein*, which actuated Schiller in the choice of *Maria Stuart* as the subject of his next tragedy. *Maria Stuart* does not, of course, testify to such familiarity with historical conditions as its predecessor, but the scaffolding of the drama, and the Kantian groundwork, which had been occasionally visible in *Wallenstein*, are here better concealed; there are fewer artificially constructed

situations, and the language is, in general, more plastic and dramatic. Schiller's faith in his classic models remained, however, unshaken, and *Maria Stuart* too is a classic drama. The subject, he tells us, admitted of treatment in the manner of Euripides, and he re-read the French tragic poets while he was engaged upon it.⁹⁶ Like *Wallenstein*, *Maria Stuart* is, at the opening of the drama, doomed, but while in the former case the fate was, as in Greek tragedy, a supernatural power, in *Maria Stuart* it assumes the more definite and realistic form of a judicial condemnation. It must also be regarded as a step forward that Schiller has here given up the artificial device of a subsidiary love-plot, and although the fiery *jeune premier* is introduced as the queen's admirer Mortimer, he is conceived on more human lines than Max Piccolomini. Lastly, it was a favourable sign that, in spite of his strict classicism, Schiller was willing to borrow suggestions as to how the religious motive might be handled from his younger Romantic contemporaries, and to turn to Iffland for sentimental touches that are foreign to his models.

Maria Stuart is the most difficult of all

Schiller's tragedies to judge at its true value. It is exceedingly popular on the stage, and finds but scant favour at the hands of the critics. It lacks, we are told, real historical colouring, and gives a distorted view of facts; it is the least veracious of all Schiller's historical dramas. A graver flaw is considered to be the absence of a dramatic conflict; Schiller is accused of playing a trick on his audience, of pretending that his heroine is involved in a tragic conflict, whereas, as a matter of fact, there is none. It is pointed out that the hopes which Mary builds up on Mortimer's devotion to her, on Leicester's love and promises, and, lastly, on her interview with Elizabeth—in which the poet makes Mary destroy her own chances of freedom—are all purely illusory, that the tragic *dénouement* is a foregone conclusion from the beginning.⁹⁷ This may be true, but there is a certain satisfaction in finding that Schiller has for once asserted the right of the modern dramatist to defy the clogging laws of the dramaturgies of the Renaissance. It must be admitted that he adapted the Aristotelian theory in a large-minded way to his needs, even if the later Hegelian theorists were obliged to with-

hold their approval. The last act of *Maria Stuart*, however lachrymose it appears to the modern reader, is, rightly regarded, the most subtle psychological process which Schiller had, up to this point, described: it is an attempt to make the culmination of the drama inward and spiritual. The very inadequacy of the motives and the defects of his construction would seem to have led him to have recourse to a deepening of the inner situation which foreshadows the methods of Hebbel and Ibsen. If, then, *Maria Stuart* is open to criticism, it is assuredly not on these grounds. The faults of the drama are rather to be ascribed to Schiller's too liberal concessions to the *eidola* of the theatre: his Mary is not above the reproach of being only half a queen and half a tearful heroine of the "tragedy of common life," while Elizabeth might have stepped straight out of a French comedy of intrigue.

We have Goethe's word for it that *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* is Schiller's best work;⁹⁸ and in one respect, at least, this is beyond question: of all Schiller's tragedies, *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* is written in the most homogeneous and harmonious style,—that is to say, it excels

where *Maria Stuart* was weakest. This, too, is what Hebbel had in mind when he called it "Schiller's greatest conscious achievement."⁹⁹ On the other hand, there are several features in *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* which are not compatible with this high praise. In it the poet displays, for instance, an almost greater disregard for the facts of history than in its predecessor; he perverts—as no modern dramatist would dare to do—the supremely tragic story of Jeanne d'Arc in order to adapt it to the theory of tragedy which lies behind all his work, namely, that the tragic hero, in succumbing to his fate, should undergo a moral regeneration. And here this end is attained in an extraordinarily artificial way. Plot and characters are less real, less in touch with nature, than in either *Wallenstein* or *Maria Stuart*. Yet however deplorable this may have been in the eyes of those who, on the strength of *Die Räuber*, hoped to see Schiller become a German Shakespeare, it must be admitted that the artificiality of *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* was in one respect in its favour; it made for that unity of style so essential to the classic type of drama; there are no concessions to naturalism as there

had been in both the preceding dramas. *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* is what Schiller called a "Romantic" tragedy; and this, too, adds to the harmonious impression it leaves on the reader. "Romantic," of course, it is not in the German sense of the word; Schiller, the heir of the rationalistic ideals of his century, was certainly not the poet to write a genuinely Romantic drama; but, like Victor Hugo and the French writers of a generation later, he made liberal use of the paraphernalia of Romanticism. And just these very externals—the introduction of supernatural motives, the resplendent medieval background—gave Schiller's idealising imagination its opportunity. *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* is, with the exception of *Die Braut von Messina*, his least German drama, and it had little or no influence on the subsequent development of tragedy; but in none of his works was he able to display his peculiar talents to better advantage.

Schiller's next tragedy, *Die Braut von Messina*, has been the subject of much controversy: the general tendency is, it seems to me, to give it an unduly prominent place among the poet's works. It is an experiment, and a very interesting experi-

ment, but it has little to do with the national drama; its place in literary history is beside Schiller's versions of *Macbeth*, *Turandot* and *Phädra*, and Goethe's adaptations from Voltaire. The poet's object was to measure himself with Sophocles;¹⁰⁰ *Die Braut von Messina* was to be a Greek tragedy, of which only the language was German, not, as in Goethe's *Iphigenie*,—which at this time Schiller found “surprisingly modern and un-Greek” and Goethe so “devilishly humane,”¹⁰¹ —the spirit of the tragedy as well. And yet even here Schiller is more French than Greek, more modern than antique. The subject of the drama, that of two brothers at enmity with each other and in love with the same woman, a heroic mother standing in the centre of the intrigue, is much more closely allied to Corneille's *Rodogune* than to any Greek drama, while Gotter's *Merope* has visibly influenced the form of Schiller's tragedy. In the characterisation of the personages, again, more especially of Beatrice and Don Caesar, there are many incongruously modern—or, to use Schiller's word, “sentimental”—touches. More modern than Greek, too, is the compromise Schiller makes in substituting for the oracles of the Greek religion the superstitions of medieval

Christianity. He did not realise that as long as the unpsychological, antique type of dramatic character is retained, the "fate" motive is an ineffectual substitute for the religious oracle; Grillparzer, in *Die Ahnfrau*, and Werner in his *Vierundzwanzigste Februar*, a drama rarely appreciated at its true worth, have shown that a legitimate form of "fate tragedy" is attainable when individual characters and not generalisations are the *dramatis personæ*. Schiller failed, not, as is too often assumed, because he attempted to do too much with the instrument of Greek tragedy, but because, in employing it, he did not proceed radically enough. Had he given up the masks of the ancient world, he might have justified his bold experiment, and created a modern parallel to the Greek fate tragedy, just as he vindicated—far better than in his prefatory treatise—the introduction of the chorus by an outburst of lyric and reflective poetry unequalled in modern dramatic literature.

The episodic and experimental character of *Die Braut von Messina* is further borne out by the fact that, less than seven months after its completion, Schiller entered in his calendar: "This evening (August 25, 1803) made a beginning to *Tell*."¹⁰²

Had Schiller's fate-drama been anything more than what the Duke of Weimar called a "hobby from which experience alone would dismount the poet,"¹⁰³ the disparity between that drama and *Wilhelm Tell* would have been no less surprising than that between *Kabale und Liebe* and *Don Carlos*. But the actual representation of *Die Braut von Messina*, deep as was the impression it left, convinced the poet himself that these experiments with the Greek drama were of very *unw*isous value.¹⁰⁴ At last the moment seemed to in all ~~some~~ when Schiller might free himself fortunately, it ~~as~~ of classical or pseudo-classical *Dorothea*, not of the ~~early~~ the years spent in In *Wilhelm Tell* Schiller has, ~~the~~ change could cipated himself from the stiffness of the classic form, and, in treating his subject with a certain epic breadth, has done something for the freedom of the German drama.

It has been asserted that Schiller might have, if not attained, at least come much nearer to his ideal in the drama which he left unfinished at his death than in any of his finished works;¹⁰⁵ that here, at last, he would have succeeded in reconciling Shakespeare with the Greeks. And there is, as every reader feels, a power and a

tion. The first act, which seemed to older critics a masterpiece of exposition, is, in reality, exceedingly artificial; every effect is calculated; the storm, the unwilling ferryman, the thunder, are all arranged to provide the hero, like an Italian *prima donna*, with an effective stage entry. Not once in this act is there a touch of naïve spontaneity, a holding of the mirror up to nature; and the remaining acts help but little to remove this first impression of unreality. Just as in *Wallenstein* Schiller had failed to call up the atmosphere of the Thirty Years' War, so is unable to convince us that his Swiss and Austrians of the fact that the

a prejudice against him from the first; and his creator is so insistent on his hero being regarded as an immaculate type that he neglects such opportunities as the unheroic murder of Gessler, or Tell's inhuman repudiation of the Parricida, to develop sides of Tell's personality which might have won our interest for him as a man.

And yet, in spite of these disadvantages, there is more sincerity in the style of *Wilhelm Tell* than in anything the poet had written since *Kabale und Liebe*; there is more of Goethe here than Schiller's other works together; but, unless it be in the Goethe of *Hermann und Dorothea*, *Faust* or of *Egmont*. At least, eman-

promise in the fragment of *Demetrius* which justify the most sanguine hypotheses. One can understand Hebbel's significant remark on witnessing a representation of it in the Viennese Hofburgtheater: "It is still very questionable whether Schiller, with that typical treatment of the drama which sweeps us along like the waves of the sea, is not right, and whether people like us are not on the wrong tack."¹⁰⁶ But it seems to me doubtful if, after all, Schiller would have done more in *Demetrius* than perfect the type of drama from which, since *Don Carlos*, he had virtually never departed; and Hebbel himself found, when he tried to complete Schiller's fragment, how impossible it was for him to engraft his own psychological art on Schiller's generalisations.

VI.

CONCLUSION

Ich möchte nicht gern in einem andern Jahrhundert leben und für ein andres gearbeitet haben. Man ist ebenso gut Zeitbürger, als man Staatsbürger ist; und wenn es unschicklich, ja unerlaubt gefunden wird, sich von den Sitten und Gewohnheiten des Zirkels, in dem man lebt, auszuschliessen, warum sollte es weniger Pflicht sein, in der Wahl seines Wirkens dem Bedürfniss und dem Geschmack des Jahrhunderts eine Stimme einzuräumen?

—SCHILLER.¹⁰⁷

CONCLUSION.

THE conclusions which the present revision of Schiller's position in literature has endeavoured to establish are perhaps best summed up in the foregoing lines quoted from Schiller's second letter on *Æsthetic Education*; in other words, it has been an attempt to show how exclusively Schiller belonged to the century that gave him birth. He began as a child of the "Sturm und Drang," and he was strong enough to be for a time a leader in that movement. He thought the thoughts of his age with an intensity peculiar to him, and, as the interpreter of coming things, he gave in his early tragedies clearer voice than even his contemporaries in France to the ideas which crashed together at the French Revolution. But he did not succeed in creating a permanent national drama on the basis afforded by the "Sturm und Drang." Instead, he led German tragedy back to the Canossa of French classicism. Then

the real task of his life began; the poet of *Don Carlos* strove all his life to overcome *Don Carlos*. Strenuously and persistently he sought the formula which was to help him to create a German drama by the fusion of the Shakespearean character-tragedy with the tragedy of the Greeks. But, poet of freedom as he was, Schiller's conception of dramatic poetry was too unfree to allow of him straying far from the highways of eighteenth-century dramaturgies; the example of the great French masters was always present to him, and Lessing's standpoint, that the drama must, above all things, respect the canon of Aristotle, was deeply stamped upon his mind. Not once—not even in *Maria Stuart*, *Wilhelm Tell*, and *Demetrius*, dramas in which the post-Hebbel critic has most chance of discovering possibilities of emancipation—did it occur to Schiller that a Germanic drama might arise which would demand the modification of Aristotle and the dethronement of French classicism in non-Latin lands,—a drama more original and national than any possible combination of Sophocles and Shakespeare.

If we have to admit—as I think we must—that Schiller failed in his object, it was not

through any deficiency in his own gifts as a poet, but rather because he set about his task in a Latin way. The highest Germanic art—whether manifested in the poetry of Wolfram von Eschenbach, or of Goethe or Shakespeare, in the painting of Dürer or Böcklin, in the music of Beethoven or Wagner—has always been in the best sense naturalistic: it has, it is true, shown a preference for psychological and spiritual problems, but it has invariably handled such problems inductively. The Germanic mind is essentially in harmony with the processes of nature; its way of thinking corresponds to the natural laws of experience. Opposed to this type of mind is the Latin or Romance mind, the constant striving of which is to rise superior to nature, to impose on the world of art the laws of a higher reason. While the Germanic artist regards nature as holy and inviolable, and abides by the facts of experience and history, the Latin genius demands in his work a higher unity, a finer harmony and balance, than nature can afford him. Such, at least, are the conclusions to be drawn from a comparison of the theatre of Corneille or Lope de Vega with that of Shakespeare, of the lyric of Petrarch or Victor

Hugo with Goethe's, of the epic of Ariosto with that of Milton or Klopstock. Under these circumstances it seems strange that a generation or two ago, when Schiller was regarded as the embodiment of the national idea, the question should never have been asked why the drama of the Germans, a pure Germanic race, must needs be—as Schiller held—a compromise between the drama of a race that is only partly Germanic and the Latin drama, and not rather represent the Germanic extreme.

No one was more sensitive to the unnational and un-German element in Schiller's work than the gifted poet and critic, Otto Ludwig: it is a point to which he reverts again and again in his critical essays on Shakespeare and Schiller. In Shakespeare, the inner development, the psychological basis of plot and character, he urges, is the chief thing; what happens in the tragedy is the natural and inevitable consequence—or, it may be, the outward symbol—of the psychological action. Schiller, on the other hand, says Ludwig, proceeds in precisely the opposite way; he sets out from the story, the outward event or the particular moral sentiment that he proposes to embody in the drama. Shakespeare, and after

him Goethe, construct the character of the hero with a view to the “tragic guilt” in which the latter is to be involved,—that is to say, they adjust his character so that his action appears as a natural outcome from it. With this special character as basis, they idealise their hero, and interest us in those traits in his character which account for the step which brings tragic consequences on his head. Shakespeare proceeds with the characters he takes from story or history, just as Titian, Rembrandt, and Raphael painted portraits; he makes a totality of them,—that is to say, he idealises them by enhancing the essential and omitting the unessential; he lays emphasis on the qualities which give the semblance of unity to the character, and, in this way, makes his personages, as it were, truer likenesses of themselves than if he had given us strictly realistic reproductions. Schiller reverses the process: he sets up for himself an ideal of man, and when he idealises a hero he combines traits of character which are peculiar to that hero with qualities borrowed from the universal ideal. He proceeds as a painter would do, who painted, say, the features of the Venus of Milo into the portrait of some particular woman, without consider-

ing whether these features had any resemblance to those of his actual model or not.¹⁰⁸

But, suggestive and discriminating as his criticism is, Ludwig has nowhere touched on the ultimate ground of his antipathy to Schiller. He was right when he insisted that Shakespeare stood nearer the Greeks than the German poet, but he did not realise that the reason was because Shakespeare, like the Greek dramatists, wrote naïvely, while in Schiller's case the *tragédie classique* stood like a coloured glass between him and the antique models. After all, what is un-German in Schiller's work is not the external characteristics of the Latin drama—the observance of unities, simplicity of form and conflict, and the like—on which the critics of the eighteenth century laid weight. Were these a criterion of “classicism,” then dramas so intensely Germanic as Goethe's *Iphigenie* and *Tasso* would have to be put in the same category as *Nathan der Weise*, *Don Carlos*, and *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*. Nor need we ask how far Schiller penetrated or did not penetrate into the spirit of Greek art and poetry, for here again Goethe and Romanticists like Friedrich Schlegel and Hölderlin were far more deeply imbued with

Hellenism than he. It is the spirit of Latin, not Greek classicism, which lies over Schiller's poetry; it is his Latin outlook upon life, his Latin attitude towards nature, motive, and character, in other words, the "*welsche*" in him, which awakened the distrust of critics like Ludwig and led the greater German dramatists of the nineteenth century to seek other models. The history of the drama in Northern Europe since Schiller's death—from Kleist to Grillparzer and from Hebbel and Ludwig down to Ibsen and Hauptmann in our own day—has been, we might say, a constant effort to vindicate the Germanic spirit in the theatre, and to free the drama from that Latinisation which Gottsched and Lessing inaugurated and Schiller perfected.

Schiller, then, is in the full sense of the word a cosmopolitan poet; he is a "*Weltbürger*" of the eighteenth century. His literary mission is more akin to that of his fellow-countryman, Wieland, than to Goethe's; for, like Wieland, he helped to Europeanise German poetry, to render it universally acceptable, by stripping it of its peculiarly national elements. And if further proof is needed, it is to be found in the fact that, of all German writers, Schiller most readily ap-

pealed to the imaginations of foreign peoples;¹⁰⁹ in France the *école romantique* was deep in his debt, and the most Gallic genius of the past century, Victor Hugo, was far more profoundly influenced by him than were any of his German successors. We might even say that the modern French Romantic drama was, in great measure, a result of the grafting of Schiller's theatre on that of Voltaire.

As a historian, a thinker, and a moralist, Schiller belongs no less completely than as a poet to the eighteenth century. He is not to be classed with the pioneers who discovered new worlds, with Rousseau, Diderot, and Herder, but rather with the "completers of an age," with Pope and Johnson, Voltaire and Lessing; he fitted, we might say, new bricks into the structure of eighteenth-century thought, but he conceived no new turrets, planned no new wings. Like Lessing before him, Schiller had the typical mind of the "Aufklärung" which demanded satisfaction and certainty, law and order; he felt too keenly the need of logical satisfaction to realise that the epoch-making element in Kant's thinking was not that it solved metaphysical problems, but that it opened up abysses in the intellectual

life hitherto unsuspected, and that, by creating broken ends, destroyed the vicious circles in which the eighteenth century had so complacently moved. This characteristic in Schiller's mind may be traced in his early school essays, which ingeniously co-ordinated physiology and psychology: at a later date it was the need of a harmonious system which made him, in the first instance, turn to history, and in the second, when Rousseau's individualism ceased to satisfy his needs, seek out a new philosophy. The same craving lies behind his lofty dream of "aesthetic education," and shows itself in his efforts to evolve a national tragedy by a compromise with French classicism.

Schiller belonged too exclusively to the old *régime* in his philosophic and sociological ideas to appeal to the new generation at the beginning of the nineteenth century; the optimism of his personal and social ethics was devoid of meaning for the Europe that had come through the throes of the French Revolution. The new age demanded a less truculently hopeful creed than he had to offer; for freedom, as the word was then understood, was very different from that metaphysical freedom in harmony with a superimposed

law, to which Schiller pinned his faith. It was on the foundations of Kant's dissonances, not of Lessing's or Schiller's harmonies, that Fichte and the Romantic thinkers and poets built up the new moral and æsthetic world with which the century opened. Schiller had no idea whither the great intellectual thoughts of his age were tending; he had no understanding for the Romantic individualism of the contemporaries of his later years. And although he came into special favour at a later period, when the day of Romanticism had waned, it was due, as I have sought to show, to reasons which had lost much of their force in Germany in 1870, and have ceased to have any meaning for the German people of to-day.

Schiller's work belongs in its ideas as well as in its form to the past; his noble dream of perfected humanism and moral idealism has no immediate message for a generation whose outlook upon life has been moulded by the pessimism and individualism of the nineteenth century, and his dramas have ceased to awaken more than a historical interest—accentuated by that strong sense of *Pietät* which is so admirable a trait in the German character—for the cultured classes. Goethe and Kleist, and, in a still higher degree,

Grillparzer and Hebbel, present more modern and vital aspects of life and thought than the far-away figments of eighteenth-century utilitarianism, the problems of moral education and moral regeneration, which bulk so largely in Schiller's imaginary world.

N O T E S

NOTES.

1. Friedrich Hebbels *Tagebücher*, herausgegeben von R. M. Werner, Berlin, 1903, iv, p. 151.
2. Julian Schmidt, *Schiller und seine Zeitgenossen*, Leipzig, 1859, Vorrede (an Otto Ludwig), p. v f.
3. J. W. Braun, *Schiller im Urteile seiner Zeitgenossen*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1882.
4. Letter to Körner, February 25, 1789: "Ich habe mir eigentlich ein eigenes Drama nach meinem Talente gebildet, welches mir eine gewisse Excellence darin giebt, eben weil es mein eigen ist. Will ich in das natürliche Drama einlenken, so fühl' ich die Superiorität, die er [Goethe] und viele andere Dichter aus der vorigen Zeit über mich haben, sehr lebhaft. Deswegen lasse ich mich aber nicht abschrecken; denn eben, je mehr ich empfinde, wie viele und welche Talente oder Erfordernisse mir fehlen, so überzeuge ich mich desto lebhafter von der Realität und Stärke desjenigen Talents, welches, jenes Mangels ungeachtet, mich soweit gebracht hat, als ich schon bin. Denn ohne ein grosses Talent von der einen Seite hätte ich einen so grossen Mangel von der anderen nicht so weit bedecken können, um auf Köpfe zu wirken" (Schillers *Briefe*, herausgegeben von F. Jonas, Stuttgart, 1892-96, ii, p. 238). It is, how-

ever, only fair to Schiller to draw attention to the date of this letter: when he speaks of his "eigenes Drama" he is thinking of *Don Carlos*.

5. Grillparzers *Briefe und Tagebücher*, herausgegeben von C. Glossy und A. Sauer, Stuttgart, 1903, ii, p. 27 f.

6. See an article by T. Ruoff on *Gervinus über Schiller den Dichter* in the *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst*, 1842, No. 102.

7. Hegel's *Aesthetik* (*Werke*, 10a), p. 78 f.; also V. Basch, *La poétique de Schiller*, Paris, 1902, p. 286 f.

8. J. Volkelt, *Aesthetik des Tragischen*, Munich, 1897, p. 143 ff.

9. J. Schmidt, *Schiller und seine Zeitgenossen, eine Gabe für den 10ten November 1859*, Leipzig, 1859.

10. Grillparzer's *Sämmtliche Werke*, 5th ed., iii, p. 83.

11. E. von Feuchtersleben, *Über Goethe und Schiller* (*Sämmtliche Werke*, Vienna, 1851-53, v), p. 236.

12. The British Museum, it may be noted, possesses a large collection of literature bearing on the Schiller Centenary of 1859.

13. To Eckermann, January 4, 1824: "Dagegen hat Schiller, der, unter uns, weit mehr ein Aristokrat war als ich, der aber weit mehr bedachte, was er sagte, als ich, das merkwürdige Glück, als besonderer Freund des Volkes zu gelten."

14. It ought, however, to be mentioned that opinions on this very point are at variance. The following is from K. Werder, *Vorlesungen über Schillers Wallenstein*, Berlin, 1889, p. 212: "Allerdings ist auch im Wallenstein das Nationale, und zwar im vollsten Masse, vorhanden—aber nicht im Stoff liegt es, sondern im Ton

der Charaktere, in den Empfindungen, Gesinnungen, Gedanken der Personen—die sind grunddeutsch. . . . Auch in Maria Stuart, der Jungfrau, der Braut von Messina sind sämmtliche Personen geborene Deutsche von Kopf bis zu Fuss—deutsch empfangen, geboren, gesäugt und erzogen, deutsch handelnd und deutsch leidend.”

15. To Eckermann, January 18, 1827: “Durch alle Werke Schillers geht die Idee von Freiheit, und diese Idee nahm eine andere Gestalt an, sowie Schiller in seiner Kultur weiter ging und selbst ein anderer wurde. In seiner Jugend war es die physische Freiheit, die ihm zu schaffen machte und die in seine Dichtung überging, in seinem späteren Leben die ideelle.”

16. *Wallensteins Tod*, ii, 2.

17. To Eckermann, January 18, 1827.

18. Richard Weltrich, *Friedrich Schiller, Geschichte seines Lebens und Charakteristik seiner Werke*, i, Stuttgart, 1885-99; Otto Brahm, *Schiller*, i and ii, 2, Berlin, 1888-92; Jakob Minor, *Schiller, sein Leben und seine Werke*, i-ii, Berlin, 1890; K. Berger, *Schiller, sein Leben und seine Werke*, i, Munich, 1905. The most satisfactory completed life of Schiller is that by Otto Harnack in the series of *Geisteshelden*, 28-29, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1905. Other recent biographies are those by J. Wychgram, 4th ed., Bielefeld, 1901 (abbreviated Volksausgabe, 1905); Calvin Thomas, New York, 1901; L. Bellermann, Leipzig, 1901.

19. Cp. E. Müller, *Geschichte der deutschen Schillerverehrung*, Vortrag, Tübingen, 1896. How unreasonable the antipathy to Schiller can become among the

specifically "modern" critics is to be seen from E. Steiger, *Das Werden des neuen Dramas*, Berlin, 1898, i, p. 107 f., 223 f., ii, p. 136 f., or E. Mauerhof, *Schiller und Heinrich von Kleist*, 2nd ed., Zurich, 1898. Ludwig Fulda, in his address on *Schiller und die neue Generation*, Stuttgart, 1904, endeavours to explain the causes which have brought about the altered attitude towards Schiller; but instead of looking the facts frankly in the face, instead of realising that the day has come when we must judge Schiller, not as a poet of the present but of the past, he falls back on the argument that "Schiller has ceased to be the fashion," and prophesies that the cultured classes will presently rediscover Schiller and accept him as their leader once more; or he repeats the traditional sentiment of the school about Schiller being the most national of German poets, and finds it "frightful" that the German student no longer takes a copy of Schiller in his pocket when he goes to the university.

20. As an example, and by no means the worst, of this type of school-book, O. Lyon's *Schillers Leben und Werke*, Bielefeld, 1900, may be mentioned. On Schiller in the German school, see articles by R. Lehmann and P. Geyer in the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen*, 101 and 103 (1898-99). Particularly flagrant examples of modern Schiller worship are the two books by C. Weitbrecht, *Schiller in seinen Dramen*, Stuttgart, 1897, and *Schiller und die deutsche Gegenwart*, Stuttgart, 1901.

21. *Götzendämmerung* (*Werke*, viii), p. 117.

22. J. W. Braun, *L.c.*, i, p. 1.

23. "O, ein Missklang auf der grossen Laute! Weltregierer, ich begreif' es nicht" (*Elegie auf den Tod eines Jünglings, Sämmtliche Schriften*, edited by K. Goedeke, i, p. 179). Cp. Goethe to Eckermann, January 18, 1825; K. Fischer, *Schiller-Schriften*, i, p. 78. ff.

24. Cp. J. Minor, *l.c.*, i, p. 299 f. In my discussion of *Die Räuber*, and, indeed, in this whole chapter, I am much indebted to Minor's work. Cp. also E. Kühnemann, *Über die Stellung von Schillers "Räubern" in der Weltlitteratur* in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, xxxi (1904), p. 385 ff. French criticisms by A. Kontz (*Les drames de la jeunesse de Schiller*, Paris, 1899) and A. Chuquet (*Études de littérature allemande*, IIème Série, Paris, 1902, p. 178 ff.) are also suggestive.

25. H. Bulthaupt, *Dramaturgie des Schauspiels*, i (9th ed.), Oldenburg, 1902, p. 257.

26. With this estimate Minor, Weltrich, Brahm, Harnack, and even critics like Ludwig and A. Bartels, are in substantial agreement. Hebbel regarded *Die Räuber* as Schiller's "höchste unbewusste Conception," *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* being the "höchste bewusste" (*Tagebücher*, iii, p. 353). English criticism, on the other hand (Matthew Arnold, Sime, Nevinson, Calvin Thomas), has shown little ability to enter into the spirit or significance of the drama. R. Weltrich, it may be mentioned, also writes warmly of the admirable Meiningen performances (*l.c.*, p. 372).

27. Cp. C. Flaischlen, *O. H. von Gemmingen*, Stuttgart, 1890, p. 131 ff.

28. There is a suggestive article on *Schillers Theatralismus* by A. Bartels in the *Marbacher Schillerbuch*, Stuttgart, 1905, p. 158 ff.
29. From the second *Sendschreiben an einen jungen Dichter* in *Der deutsche Merkur*, October, 1782, p. 82 ff.
30. *Herodes und Mariamne*, iii, 6 : "Für jeden Menschen kommt der Augenblick, In dem der Lenker seines Sterns ihm selbst Die Zügel übergiebt."
31. *Briefe über Don Carlos (Schriften*, vi), p. 35.
32. E. Elster, *Zur Entstehung des Don Carlos*, Halle, 1889 ; Minor, l.c., ii, p. 520 ff. For the drama in its various forms see *Sämmliche Schriften*, iii, p. 180 ff., and v, parts 1 and 2 ; or Schiller's *Werke* in the *Deutsche Nationallitteratur*, iv (edited by R. Boxberger), p. lxvi ff., 103 ff.
33. Letter to Dalberg, Mannheim, June 7, 1784 : "Carlos würde nichts weniger seyn, als ein politisches Stük—sondern eigentlich ein Familiengemälde in einem fürstlichen Hausse" (*Briefe*, i, p. 192).
34. Letter to Reinwald, Bauerbach, April 14, 1783 : "Karlos hat, wenn ich mich des Maases bedienen darf, von Shakespears Hamlet die Seele—Blut und Nerven von Leisewitz Julius, Und den Puls von mir" (*Briefe*, i, p. 115).
35. Even Reinwald, Schiller's Meiningen friend, who had read the first prose fragments of *Don Carlos*, found a stiffness in the iambic version. Cp. his letter to Schiller of April 26, 1786 : "Um aber wieder auf den Don Carlos zu kommen, so fällt mir bei, dass mir Dein Dialog durch die Iamben eine Steifigkeit anzunehmen schien ; ich weiss aber wol, dass unsre Häupter des

Parnasses in hohen Trauerspiel Verse wollen—wo ich nicht irre, hat Shakespeare darinn abgewechselt. Es gehört aber viel Übung im Versmachen dazu, bis diese Verse so geschmeidig werden, dass der Dialog es auch bleibt" (*Schillers Briefwechsel mit seiner Schwester Christophine und seinem Schwager Reinwald*, Leipzig, 1875, p. 87). It is worth comparing a passage in a letter of Schiller's to Goethe, written more than twelve years later (August 24, 1798), when he was at work on *Wallenstein*: "Ich lasse meine Personen viel sprechen, sich mit einer gewissen Breite herauslassen. . . . Es ist zuverlässig, man könnte mit weniger Worten auskommen, um die tragische Handlung auf- und abzuwickeln, auch möchte es der Natur handelnder Charaktere gemässer scheinen. Aber das Beispiel der Alten welche es auch so gehalten haben und in demjenigen was Aristoteles die Gesinnungen und Meinungen nennt, gar nicht wortkarg gewesen sind, scheint auf ein höheres poetisches Gesetz hinzudeuten, welches eben hierin eine Abweichung von der Wirklichkeit fordert" (*Briefe*, v, p. 418).

36. "Der Mischung der Charaktere," wrote a contemporary critic, "fehlt es nicht an Mannigfaltigkeit, aber jedem einzelnen Charakter nur zu sehr an Individualität und unterscheidenden Schattirungen" (J. W. Braun, *l.c.*, p. 154). Humboldt also found in the female characters of *Don Carlos* "einen gewissen Glanz, der sie von eigentlichen Naturwesen unterscheidet" (*Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und W. von Humboldt*, herausgegeben von A. Leitzmann, Stuttgart, 1900, p. 167).

37. F. H. Jacobi, *Auserlesener Briefwechsel*, herausgegeben von F. Roth, Berlin, 1825-27, ii, p. 237 (quoted by Hebbel, *Tagebücher*, iv, p. 72).

38. Cp. R. Schlosser, *F. W. Gotter*, Hamburg, 1895, p. 122 ff.; part of Gotter's correspondence with Dalberg was published by H. Uhde in the *Grenzboten*, 1876, ii, p. 41 ff.

39. Cp. J. Minor, *l.c.*, ii, p. 165 ff., 230 ff.; K. Berger, *l.c.*, i, p. 327 ff. On the Mannheim theatre, see A. Schloenbach, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schillerperiode des Mannheimer Theaters* in the *Schillerbuch*, Dresden, 1860, p. 118 ff.; W. Koffka, *Iffland und Dalberg*, Leipzig, 1865; A. Pichler, *Chronik des Grossherzoglichen Hof- und Nationaltheaters in Mannheim*, Mannheim, 1879; M. Martersteig, *Die Protokolle des Mannheimer Nationaltheaters unter Dalberg aus den Jahren 1781 bis 1789*, Mannheim, 1890; F. Walter, *Archiv und Bibliothek des Grossh. Hof- und Nationaltheaters in Mannheim*, 2 vols., Mannheim, 1899.

40. Letter to Reinwald, Bauerbach, March 27, 1783: "Ob ich mit Dalberg zu Stande kommen kann, zweifle ich. Ich kenne ihn ziemlich, und meine *Louise Millerin* hat zerschiedene Eigenschaften an sich, welche auf dem Theater nicht wol passiren. Z. e. Die gothische Vermischung von Komischem und Tragischem, die allzufreie Darstellung einiger mächtigen Narrenarten, und die zerstreuende Mannichfaltigkeit des Details" (*Briefe*, i, p. 107). How much Schiller learned in technical matters in Mannheim is shown by J. Petersen, *Schiller und die Bühne* (*Palaestra*, xxxii), Berlin, 1904, p. 196 f.

41. See F. Walter, *Geschichte des Theaters und der Musik am kurpfälzischen Hofe*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 267 ff.

42. Letter to Dalberg, Mannheim, July 2, 1784 (*Briefe*, i, p. 203 ff.) The *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* was among the books which Schiller asked his friend Reinwald to send him in Bauerbach from the Meiningen Library (*Briefe*, i, p. 85). As Boxberger points out (*Schillers Werke* in the *Deutsche Nationalliteratur*, xii, 2, p. 195), Schiller's lecture, *Was kann eine gute stehende Bühne eigentlich wirken?* (June 26, 1784), was to a large extent inspired by Lessing's work.

43. "Ich glaube, dass man gegen die Franzosen gerecht seyn kann, ohne darum Parthey gegen die Engländer zu nehmen" (*Der deutsche Merkur*, March 1784, p. 228). That Wieland had, amongst others, Schiller in view in his appeal to the younger German poets, is evident from his letter of May 9, 1784, to Archenholtz (*Das Morgenblatt*, May 9, 1828), and he doubtless recognised in *Don Carlos* a step in the right direction. A passage from Schiller's letter to Körner of February 12, 1788, is, however, worth quoting in this connection: "Neulich hätt' ich ihn [Wieland] fast auf den Kopf gestellt; ich war just in einer meiner *widersprechenden* Launen, und da erklärte ich ihm, als das Gespräch auf französischen Geschmack roulirte, dass ich mich anheischig machte, jede *einzelne* Scene aus jedem französischen Tragiker *wahrer* und also besser zu machen [this is an echo of Lessing's famous challenge at the close of the *Dramaturgie*]. Du kannst ungefähr wissen, wie ich das meinen musste, aber ihm hatte ich in die Seele

gegriffen. Er führte mir meinen Carlos zur Widerlegung an; wo ich nämlich gerade die Fehler hätte, die ich an den Franzosen tadle. Ich sagte ihm, dass aus den dreissig Bogen des Carlos gewiss sieben herauszubringen seien, worin *reine* Natur sei (und habe ich nicht recht?); er solle mir das an einem französischen Stücke probiren" (*Briefe*, ii, p. 18).

44. *Schriften*, iii, p. 516. Cp. Letter to Dalberg, Mannheim, August 24, 1784: "Ich habe gegenwärtig meine Zeit zwischen eigenen Arbeiten und französischer Lecture getheilt. Warum ich das letztere thue, werden E. E. gewiss billigen. Fürs Erste erweitert es überhaupt meine dramatische Kenntniss und bereichert meine Phantasie, fürs andere hoffe ich dadurch zwischen zwei Extremen, Englischem und Französischem Geschmak in ein heilsames Gleichgewicht zu kommen [Wieland's demand, see the foregoing note]. Auch nähre ich insgeheim eine kleine Hoffnung, der deutschen Bühne mit der Zeit durch Versetzung der klassischen Stüke Corneilles, Racines, Crebillons und Voltaires auf unsren Boden eine wichtige Eroberung zu verschaffen. . . . Durch mich allein wird und muss unser Theater einen Zuwachs an vielen vortrefflichen neuen Stükken bekommen, worunter Makbeth und Timon, und einige französische sind (*Briefe*, i, p. 207 f.)

45. Minor, *l.c.*, ii, p. 167 ff., 238 ff.; K. Berger, *l.c.*, i, p. 503 ff. Cp. B. Seuffert, *Klein und Schiller in Festschrift für Ludwig Urlichs*, Würzburg, 1880, and a dissertation by K. Krükl, *Anton von Klein am Hofe Karl Theodors von der Pfalz*, Eisenach, 1901. Klein's

criticism of *Die Räuber* (in the *Pfälzische Museum*) is reprinted by Braun, *l.c.*, i, p. 32 ff. Seuffert (p. 228) quotes Klein's words: "Mein ewiger Gesang bey Schiller klang von Geschmack und Kunstregeln, wider die er sich eine Zeitlang zu sträuben schien. Wenn in jener Hinsicht Don Karlos von den Räubern im Abstiche glänzt, so glaube ich nicht wenig Antheil daran zu haben."

46. Letter to Dalberg, Mannheim, July 2, 1784 (*Briefe*, i, p. 192); cp. Minor, *l.c.*, ii, p. 235.

47. Cp. Minor, *l.c.*, ii, p. 399.

48. Cp. A. Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg*, Berlin, 1891, p. 264 ff. In a review of the *Thalia* in the *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* (Jena, May 21, 1785), the critic refers to "Bruchstücke eines Trauerspiels über diese bekannte Phädern-Geschichte" (J. W. Braun, *l.c.*, p. 107).

49. Otway's tragedy had been translated into German in 1757, in the *Neuen Erweiterungen der Erkenntniss und des Vergnügens*, ix, 51, p. 175 ff.; Campistron's *Andronic* appeared in 1685. Cp. H. J. Heller, *Die Quellen des Schiller'schen Don Carlos* in Herrig's *Archiv*, xxv (1859), p. 55 ff.; O. Schanzenbach, *Französische Einflusse bei Schiller* (Programm), Stuttgart, 1885, p. 19 f.; J. Löwenberg, *Über Otways und Schillers Don Carlos*, Lippstädt, 1886; E. Müller, in the *Tübinger Korrespondenzblatt*, 1888; A. Kontz, *Les drames de la jeunesse de Schiller*, Paris, 1899, p. 415 ff.; C. Hausding, *J. G. de Campistron* (Dissertation), Leipzig, 1903, p. 69 ff. Minor, *l.c.*, ii, p. 624, accepts Löwenberg's conclusions that Schiller used neither Otway nor Cam-

pistron. But the fifth scene of Act i of *Andronic*—Léonce's audience with the Emperor—clearly contains the germ of Posa's appeal to Philipp. The following lines are from Léonce's speech :—

Fais si bien, juste Ciel, que ma plainte le touche !
Tout un Peuple, Seigneur, vous parle par ma bouche ;
Un Peuple qui toujours à vos Ordres soumis,
Fut le plus fort rempart contre vos Ennemis ;
Et de qui la valeur justement renommée
Se fit craindre cent fois à l'Europe allarmée,
Quand votre illustre Pereachevant ses Exploits,
Se vit et la terreur et l'arbitre des Rois.
Vous le scavez, Seigneur ; ce Peuple magnanime
Fut toujours honoré de sa plus tendre estime ;
Et ce digne Heros, pour ses fameux Combats,
Choisissoit parmi nous ses Chefs et ses Soldats.
Cet heureux tems n'est plus ; ces Guerriers intrépides
Sont en proye aux fureurs des Gouverneurs avides ;
Sous des fers odieux leur cœur est abattu,
La rigueur de leur sort accable leur vertu ;
Tout se plaint, tout gémit dans nos tristes Provinces ;
Les Chefs et les Soldats, et le Peuple et les Princes.
Chaque jour sans scrupule on viole nos droits,
Et l'on compte pour rien la Justice et les Loix.
En vain nos Ennemis à nos Peuples soutiennent,
Que c'est de votre part que leurs ordres nous viennent,
Non vous n'approuvez point leurs sanguinaires attentats,
Je dirai plus, Seigneur, vous ne les scavez pas.
Ah ! si pour un moment vous pouviez voir vous-même
Pour quels coups on se sert de votre Nom suprême ;
Que ce saint Nom ne sert qu'à nous tyranniser ;
Qu'à mieux lier le joug qu'on nous veut imposer ;
Alors de vos Sujets moins Empereur que Pere,
Vous ne songeriez plus qu'à finir leur misère,
Et qu'à punir bien-tôt avec sévérité
Ces indignes abus de votre Autorité.

50. Preface to *Don Carlos* in the *Thalia (Schriften, v, 1, p. 3)*; A. von Klein, *Dramaturgische Schriften*, Frankfort, 1781-87 (not accessible to me), quoted by Minor, *l.c.*, ii, p. 244.

51. Cp. S. Levy, *Schillers Don Carlos in seiner Abhängigkeit von Lessings Nathan* (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, xxi (1877), p. 277 ff.). B. Seuffert (*Festschrift für Urlichs*, p. 228) denies any indebtedness to Klein's *Rudolf von Habsburg*, which I have not seen. The influence of Gotter, not merely on Schiller but also on Goethe (cp. H. Morsch, *Aus der Vorgeschichte von Goethes Iphigenie in Vierteljahrsschrift für Litteraturgeschichte*, iv (1891), p. 92 ff.), has not yet been given the attention it deserves. Cp. R. Schlösser, *Zur Geschichte und Kritik von F. W. Gotters Merope*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 10 ff., and the same author's *F. W. Gotter*, Hamburg, 1895, p. 207. On general questions see F. Zarncke, *Der fünffüssige Iambus mit besonderer Berücksichtigung auf seine Behandlung durch Lessing, Schiller und Goethe*, Leipzig, 1865 (a reprint in Zarncke's *Kleine Schriften*, i, Leipzig, 1897); A. Sauer, *Über den fünffüssigen Iambus vor Lessings Nathan* (*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie: Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, xc (1878)); the same author's *J. W. von Bräwe (Quellen und Forschungen*, xxx), Strassburg, 1878, p. 128 ff.; E. Belling, *Die Metrik Schillers*, Breslau, 1883.

52. *Über die tragische Kunst (Schriften, x)*, d. 17 ff. Cp. A. Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg*, Berlin, 1891, p. 266.

53. Cp. H. Lion, *Les tragédies et les théories dramatiques de Voltaire*, Paris, 1896.
54. G. Carel, in his second Programm on *Voltaire und Goethe*, Berlin, 1898, p. 16 ff., gives a brief summary of Voltaire's influence in Germany.
55. R. Wagner, *Deutsche Kunst und deutsche Politik (Gesammelte Schriften, viii)*, p. 36 ff.
56. A. Sauer (*J. W. von Brawe*, p. 63) recognises in the relation of Marcius to Brutus in Brawe's tragedy, a "Vorklang von Max und Wallenstein."
57. "Es ist Schade um des Mannes Talent, dass er eine Laufbahn ergreift, die der Ruin des Deutschen Theaters ist. . . . Ich hasse das französische Trauerspiel—als *Trauerspiel* betrachtet—aber ich hasse auch diese regellosen *Schauspiele*, die Kunst und Geschmack zu Grunde richten. Ich hasse Schillern, dass er wieder eine Bahn eröffnet, die der Wind schon verweht hatte" (*Grenzboten*, xiii (1854), 2, p. 436; also quoted by Minor, *l.c.*, ii, p. 232).
58. *Vorerinnerung über Schiller über den Gang seiner Geistesentwicklung in Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und W. von Humboldt*, edited by A. Leitzmann, Stuttgart, 1900, p. 20.
59. Goethe to Eckermann, November 14, 1823, and April 14, 1824.
60. E. Kühnemann, *Die Kantischen Studien Schillers und die Komposition des Wallenstein*, Marburg, 1889.
61. K. Tomaschek, *Schiller in seinem Verhältnisse zur Wissenschaft*, Vienna, 1862; K. Twesten, *Schiller in seinem Verhältnis zur Wissenschaft*, Berlin, 1863; F. X. von Wegele, *Geschichte der deutschen Historio-*

graphie seit dem Auftreten des Humanismus, Munich, 1885, p. 949 ff. The chapter on Schiller as historian in Julian Schmidt's *Schiller und seine Zeitgenossen* (p. 205 ff.) is also still worth consulting.

62. Letter to Körner, April 15, 1786: "Täglich wird mir die *Geschichte* theurer. Ich habe diese Woche eine Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Kriegs gelesen, und mein Kopf ist mir noch ganz warm davon. . . . Ich wollte dass ich zehn Jahre hintereinander nichts als Geschichte studiert hätte. Ich glaube ich würde ein ganz anderer Kerl sein. Meinst Du, dass ich es noch werde nachholen können?" (*Briefe*, i, p. 291).

63. Cp. O. Brahm, *I.c.*, ii, 1, p. 208.

64. Letter to Körner, end of April 1787: "Dein Charles XII. entzückt mich. Ich finde ihn mit mehr Genie sogar geschrieben, als das Siecle de Louis XIV." (*Briefe*, i, p. 342). Schiller does not appear to have read Gibbon until February 1789 (*Briefe*, ii, p. 233).

65. Letter to Körner, January 7, 1788: "Deine Geringschätzung der Geschichte kommt mir unbillig vor. Allerdings ist sie willkührlich, voll Lücken und sehr oft unfruchtbar, aber eben das willkührliche in ihr könnte einen philosophischen Geist reiten, sie zu beherrschen; das leere und unfruchtbare einen schöpferischen Kopf herausfodern, sie zu befruchten und auf dieses Gerippe Nerven und Muskeln zu tragen" (*Briefe*, ii, p. 2). The most definite statement of Schiller's position is, however, to be found in his inaugural address in Jena: *Was heisst und zu welchem Ende studiert man Universalgeschichte?* and especially in the following passage: "So würde denn unsre Weltgeschichte nie

etwas anders als ein Aggregat von Bruchstücken werden und nie den Nahmen einer Wissenschaft verdienen. Jezt also kommt ihr der philosophische Verstand zu Hülfe, und, indem er diese Bruchstücke durch künstliche Bildungsglieder verkettet, erhebt er das Aggregat zum System, zu einem vernunftmässig zusammenhängenden Ganzen . . . Eine Erscheinung nach der andern fängt an, sich dem blinden Ohngefähr, der gesetzlosen Freyheit zu entziehen, und sich einem übereinstimmenden Ganzen (das freylich nur in seiner Vorstellung vorhanden ist) als ein passendes Glied anzureyhen. Bald fällt es ihm schwer, sich zu überreden, dass diese Folge von Erscheinungen, die in seiner Vorstellung soviel Regelmässigkeit und Absicht annahm, diese Eigenschaften in der Wirklichkeit verläugne; es fällt ihm schwer, wieder unter die blinde Herrschaft der Nothwendigkeit zu geben, was unter dem geliehenen Lichte des Verstandes angefangen hatte eine so heitre Gestalt zu gewinnen. Er nimmt also diese Harmonie aus sich selbst heraus, und verpflanzt sie ausser sich in die Ordnung der Dinge, d. i. er bringt einen vernünftigen Zweck in den Gang der Welt, und ein teleologisches Prinzip in die *Weltgeschichte*. Mit diesem durchwandert er sie noch einmal, und hält es prüfend gegen jede Erscheinung, welche dieser grosse Schauplatz ihm darbietet. Er sieht es durch tausend beystimmende Facta bestätigt, und durch eben soviele andre widerlegt; aber so lange in der Reyhe der Weltveränderungen noch wichtige Bildungsglieder fehlen, so lange das Schicksal über so viele Begebenheiten den letzten Aufschluss noch zurückhält, erklärt er die Frage für

unentschieden, und diejenige Meinung siegt, welche dem Verstände die höhere Befriedigung und dem Herzen die grösste Glückseligkeit anzubieten hat" (*Schriften*, ix, p. 95 ff.)

66. March 26, 1789: "Eigentlich sollten Kirchengeschichte, Geschichte der Philosophie, Geschichte der Kunst, der Sitten und Geschichte des Handels mit der politischen in Eins zusammengefasst werden, und dies erst kann Universalhistorie sein" (*Briefe*, ii, p. 260). We are hardly justified—on the strength of Schiller's letter to Körner of April 15, 1786 (i, p. 290), in which he expresses himself with great warmth about Abbt's *Vom Verdienste*—in saying that Abbt had acted as a corrective to the Kantian standpoint; for that writer's fruitful attempts to formulate a new historical theory are not to be found here, but rather in the essays and reviews scattered through the *Litteraturbriefe*.

67. Cp. O. Harnack, *Schiller und Herder* in the *Marbacher Schillerbuch*, p. 73 ff.

68. L. Wachler in his *Geschichte der historischen Forschung und Kunst*, Göttingen, 1812-16, ii, 2, p. 300 f., describes Müller's style as a "veredelter Chronikenstyl . . . körnig-gediegen, sinnschwer, sehr oft kraftmächtig und bis zur Kühnheit neu."

69. See the works by Tomaschek and Twesten quoted in note 51. Also Kuno Fischer, *Schiller als Philosoph*, 2nd edition, Heidelberg, 1891; F. Ueberweg, *Schiller als Historiker und Philosoph*, Leipzig, 1884; and the introduction by O. Walzel to vol. xi of the *Säkular-Ausgabe* of Schiller's works, Stuttgart, 1905. A useful handbook of Schiller's philosophy is the selec-

tion of his *Philosophische Schriften und Gedichte*, edited by Eugen Kühnemann (*Philosophische Bibliothek*, vol. ciii), Leipzig, 1902. Cp. also notes 73 and 76.

70. Cp. especially Minor, *l.c.*, i, p. 192 ff.

71. K. Fischer, *l.c.*, p. 7.

72. "Ich treibe jetzt mit grossem Eifer Kantische Philosophie und gäbe viel darum, wenn ich jeden Abend mit Dir darüber verplaudern könnte. Mein Entschluss ist unwiderruflich gefasst, sie nicht eher zu verlassen, bis ich sie ergründet habe, wenn auch dieses auch 3 Jahre kosten könnte" (*Briefe*, iii, p. 186).

73. *Briefe*, iii, p. 239 ff. We find the first mention of the *Kallias* in a letter of December 21, 1792 (*ib.* p. 232). There is an extensive literature on Schiller's æsthetics. Apart from the general treatises on the history of æsthetics, the following works may be consulted: Th. W. Danzel, *Über den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Philosophie der Kunst und ihre nächste Aufgabe* (1844) and *Schillers Briefwechsel mit Körner* (1847), both essays in *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Leipzig, 1855, p. 1 ff. and 227 ff.; F. Montargis, *L'Esthétique de Schiller*, Paris, 1890; K. Berger, *Die Entwicklung von Schillers Aesthetik*, Weimar, 1894; E. Kühnemann, *Kants und Schillers Begründung der Aesthetik*, Munich, 1895. I have also found suggestive the chapter on Schiller in R. Sommer, *Grundzüge einer Geschichte der deutschen Psychologie und Aesthetik von Wolf-Baumgarten bis Kant-Schiller*, Würzburg, 1892, p. 365 ff. See also notes 69 and 76.

74. H. Deinhardt, *Schillers Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen*, in *Beiträge zur Würdigung*

Schillers, Stuttgart, 1861; G. Schmoller, *Schillers ethischer und kulturgeschichtlicher Standpunkt*, in *Zur Litteraturgeschichte der Staats- und Sozialwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 1 ff.

75. Letter to Körner, October 20, 1794: "Das Schöne ist kein Erfahrungs-begriff, sondern vielmehr ein Imperativ" (*Briefe*, iv, p. 44).

76. U. Gaede, *Schillers Abhandlung über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung: Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1899; O. Harnack, *Die klassische Aesthetik der Deutschen*, Leipzig, 1892; and the admirable treatise by Victor Basch, *La poétique de Schiller*, Paris, 1902.

77. *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, 5th edition, v, p. 478.

78. V. Basch, *l.c.*, p. 22 ff.

79. The different standpoints of Herder and Schiller are admirably summed up by R. Haym in his *Herder nach seinem Leben und seinen Werken*, Berlin, 1880-85, ii, p. 631: "Am Leitfaden der geschichtlichen Betrachtung geht der Verfasser der Litteraturfragmente den vielseitigen Bezügen der Poesie zu den übrigen Culturerscheinungen mit der Billigkeit der unparteiisch empfänglichen Empfindung nach: die Dichtung ist ihm zugleich die Tochter und die Dienerin der Humanität. Aus dem Wesen des Menschen leitet Schiller mit Begriffen, die er der kritisch idealistischen Philosophie entnommen hat, das Wesen der Poesie ab, das sich ihn sofort mit dem Ideal seines eigenen poetischen Schaffens identifiziert und in das er die geschichtlichen Unterschiede als begrifflich notwendige Typen-hinein-

ordnet." Cp. V. Basch, *l.c.*, p. 54 and 170 ff., also p. 188.

80. Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, March 21, 1830; V. Basch, p. 269 ff.

81. Cp. C. Alt, *Schiller und die Brüder Schlegel*, Weimar, 1904.

82. V. Basch, *l.c.*, p. 285.

83. *An Goethe, als er den Mahomet von Voltaire auf die Bühne brachte* (*Schriften*, xi, p. 325).

84. *Goethes Briefwechsel mit den Gebrüdern von Humboldt*, herausgegeben von F. T. Bratraneck, Leipzig, 1876, p. 227: "Jedes Schauspiel Schillers ist eigentlich ein neuer Versuch; er ging immer von der Liebe zur Kunst, immer von dem Wunsche, ihr eine neue Seite abzugewinnen, aus, und kaum möchte ich sagen, dass die grosse Reihe seiner dramatischen Productionen ein Resultat darüber vollendet hätte."

85. R. Wagner, *Deutsche Kunst und deutsche Politik* (*Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen*, 2nd ed., viii), p. 80; Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, January 18, 1825; Carlyle, *Life of Schiller*, conclusion. Cp. my *History of German Literature*, Edinburgh, 1902, p. xxvii.

86. H. Hettner, *Literaturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 4th ed., Brunswick, 1894, iii, 3, 2, p. 280.

87. Cp. Schiller's letters to Goethe of April 4 and 7, 1797, and more especially, of November 28 of the same year: here he describes *Richard III.* as "eine der erhabensten Tragödien, die ich kenne . . . kein Shakespearesches Stück hat sich so sehr an die griechische Tragödie erinnert" (*Schiller's Briefe*, v, p. 168, 178 f. and 292). The well-known passage

in the Preface to the *Braut von Messina* may also be recalled, in which Schiller states his opinion that the chorus would "ohne Zweifel Shakespeares Tragödie erst ihre wahre Bedeutung geben" (*Schriften*, xiv, p. 11). The touchstone of Schiller's standpoint with regard to Shakespeare is, of course, his version of *Macbeth*, written in the winter of 1799-1800. Cp. A. Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg*, p. 19 ff., and the same critic's introduction to volume ix of the new *Säkular-Ausgabe* of Schiller's works published by Cotta.

88. See note 52.

89. "Ich finde," he writes to Goethe on April 4, 1797, "je mehr ich über mein eigenes Geschäft und über die Behandlungsart der Tragödie bei den Griechen nachdenke, dass der ganze Cardo rei in der Kunst liegt, eine poetische Fabel zu erfinden. Der Neuere schlägt sich mühselig und ängstlich mit Zufälligkeiten und Nebendingen herum, und über dem Bestreben, der Wirklichkeit recht nahe zu kommen, beladet er sich mit dem Leeren und Unbedeutenden, und darüber läuft er Gefahr, die tiefliegende Wahrheit zu verlieren, worin eigentlich alles Poetische liegt. Er möchte gern einen wirklichen Fall vollkommen nachahmen, und bedenkt nicht, dass eine poetische Darstellung mit der Wirklichkeit eben darum, weil sie absolut wahr ist, niemals coincidiren kann. . . . Es ist mir aufgefallen, dass die Charactere des Griechischen Trauerspiels, mehr oder weniger, idealische Masken und keine eigentliche Individuen sind, wie ich sie in Shakespear und auch in Ihren Stücken finde. So ist z. B. Ulysses im Ajax und im Philoctet offenbar nur das Ideal der listigen,

über ihre Mittel nie verlegenen, engherzigen Klugheit ; so ist Creon im Oedip und in der Antigone bloss die kalte Königswürde. Man kommt mit solchen Charakteren in der Tragödie viel besser aus, sie exponiren sich geschwinder, und ihre Züge sind permanenter und fester. Die Wahrheit leidet dadurch nichts, weil sie blossen logischen Wesen eben so entgegengesetzt sind als blossen Individuen" (*Briefe*, v, p. 167 f.)

90. Cp. E. Kühnemann, *Die Kantischen Studien Schillers und die Komposition des Wallenstein*, Marburg, 1889.

91. K. Hoffmeister, *Schillers Leben, Geistesentwicklung und Werke*, edited by H. Viehoff, Stuttgart, 1874-75, iii, p. 86.

92. Schiller's Letter to Goethe, November 28, 1796 : "In Rücksicht auf den *Geist*, in welchem ich arbeite, werden Sie wahrscheinlich mit mir zufrieden seyn. Es will mir ganz gut gelingen, meinen Stoff ausser mir zu halten, und nur den Gegenstand zu geben. Beynahe möchte ich sagen, das Sujet interessiert mich gar nicht, und ich habe nie eine solche Kälte für meinen Gegenstand mit einer solchen Wärme für die Arbeit in mir vereinigt. Den Hauptcharacter so wie die meisten Nebencharactere tractiere ich wirklich biss jetzt mit der reinen Liebe des Künstlers ; bloss für den nächsten nach dem Hauptcharacter, den jungen Piccolomini, bin ich durch meine eigene Zuneigung interessiert, wobey das Ganze übrigens eher gewinnen als verlieren soll" (*Briefe*, v, p. 119).

93. Köster (*Schiller als Dramaturg*, p. 280) sees a resemblance between Max Piccolomini and Théramène

in Racine's *Phèdre*; M. Berendt (*Schiller—Wagner: ein Jahrhundert in der Entwicklungsgeschichte des deutschen Dramas*, Berlin, 1901, p. 45 f.) brings Max and Thekla into parallel with Rodrigue and Chimène.

94. A characteristic defence of these scenes is to be found in K. Werder, *Vorlesungen über Schillers Wallenstein*, Berlin, 1889, p. 177.

95. O. Ludwig, *Dramatische Studien (Gesammelte Schriften)*, edited by E. Schmidt and A. Stern, Leipzig, 1891-92, v), p. 304 f.: "Ich kenne keine poetische, namentlich keine dramatische Gestalt, die in ihrem Entwurf so zufällig, so krankhaft individuell, in ihrer Ausführung so unwahr wäre, als Schillers Wallenstein; keine, die mit ihren eignen Voraussetzungen so im Streite läge, keine, die sich molluskenhafter der Willkür des Dichters fügte. Keine aber auch, in welcher diese Unwahrheit und innere Haltlosigkeit mit grösserm Geschick versteckt wäre." Cp. also Hebbel's *Tagebücher*, iii, p. 161.

96. Letter to Goethe, April 26, 1799: "Besonders scheint er [der Stoff] sich zu der Euripidischen Methode, welche in der vollständigsten Darstellung des Zustandes besteht, zu qualifizieren; denn ich sehe eine Möglichkeit, den ganzen Gerichtsgang zugleich mit allem politischen auf die Seite zu bringen, und die Tragödie mit der Verurtheilung anzufangen" (*Briefe*, vi, p. 28 f.) Cp. Hettner, *l.c.*, iii, 3, 2, p. 284 ff. It is worth noting that the technique of *Maria Stuart* is not very different from that of Gerstenberg's *Ugolino*, a drama which profoundly influenced the whole period of Schiller's youth.

97. See especially O. Harnack, *Schiller*, p. 345 ff.

98. Schiller to Körner, May 13, 1801.

99. Cp. note 26.

100. Letter to Humboldt, February 17, 1803 : "Mein erster Versuch einer Tragödie in strenger Form wird Ihnen Vergnügen machen, Sie werden daraus urtheilen, ob ich, als Zeitgenosse des Sophocles, auch einmal einen Preiss davongetragen haben möchte" (*Briefe*, vii, p. 13 f.)

101. Goethe to Schiller, January 19, 1802, and his remark to Riemer (the latter's *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, Berlin, 1841, i, p. 367); for Schiller on *Iphigenie* see his letter to Körner of January 21, 1802 (*Briefe*, vi, p. 335).

102. E. Müller, *Regesten zu Schillers Leben und Werken*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 164.

103. Letter to Goethe, February 11, 1803 (*Briefwechsel des Grossherzogs Carl August mit Goethe in den Jahren 1775 bis 1828*, Weimar, 1863, i, p. 289).

104. Letter to Goethe, February 8, 1804 : "Mit den griechischen Dingen ist es eben eine missliche Sache auf unserm Theater" (*Briefe*, vii, p. 122).

105. Hettner, *l.c.*, iii, 3, 2, p. 311 ff.; also Harnack, p. 410 ff. Cp. G. Kettner, *Schillers Demetrius (Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft*, ix), Weimar, 1894.

106. E. Kuh, *Biographie F. Hebbels*, Vienna, 1877, ii, p. 618 : "Es fragt sich noch sehr, ob nicht Schiller mit seiner wie die Seewoge fortreissenden, typischen Behandlung des Dramas Recht hat und ob unser Einer nicht auf der falschen Fährte ist."

107. *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen*, 2nd Letter (*Schriften*, x), p. 276 f.

108. O. Ludwig, *Gesammelte Schriften*, v, p. 320 f.: “Shakespeare und nach ihm Goethe konstruieren den Charakter aus seiner Schuld, d. h. sie richten diesen so ein, dass die Schuld sich ohne weitres aus dieser seiner Anlage erklären lässt. Von dieser Charakteranlage aus idealisiert nun Shakespeare den Charakter, so dass eben dasselbe, was ihn schuldig werden lässt, unsern Anteil an ihm erregt, zunächst die Kraft, schuldig werden zu können. Er verfährt mit seinen Helden aus Novelle oder Geschichte wie Tizian, Rembrandt, Rafael mit dem Originale, das sie porträtiieren; er macht eine Totalität aus ihnen, d. h. er idealisiert sie durch Steigerung des Wesentlichen, durch Fallenlassen des Unwesentlichen, durch Hervorheben des Zusammenhangs; er macht sie gleichsam sich selber ähnlicher. Dagegen hat Schiller sich das absolute Ideal des Menschen konstruiert; wenn er einen Helden idealisiert, so heißt das: er mischt Züge, die seinem Originale eigenthümlich sind, mit Zügen jenes allgemeinen Ideals; er verfährt, wie ein Maler thun würde, der etwa die Venus von Milo in das Porträt einer beliebigen Dame hineinmalen wollte, gleichgültig, ob diese Züge nun einander widersprechen oder nicht.” Cp. also p. 310 f. For Schiller’s theory of tragedy see the three essays, *Über das Pathetische*, *Über den Grund des Vergnügens an tragischen Gegenständen*, and *Über die tragische Kunst (Schriften*, x). Cp. J. Volkelt, *Aesthetik des Tragischen*, Munich, 1897, p. 100 ff.

109. It is difficult to understand how a writer of such insight as O. Harnack can say of Schiller: “Die entschieden germanische Eigentümlichkeit Schillers bringt

es mit sich, dass andere Nationen schwer für ihn Verständnis gewinnen, dass er nicht ein populärer Dichter in der Weltlitteratur werden kann. Besonders die romanischen Völker, die sich neben aller Überkultur dennoch ein Erbteil von Kindlichkeit und Naivität bewahrt haben, welches die Nordländer immer von neuem fesselt—ihnen fehlt zu Schillers Eigenart jeder Zugang, während sie diesen zu Goethes weit gezogenem Kreise von einzelnen Punkten aus doch zu finden wissen" (*Schiller*, 2nd ed., p. 425). On Schiller's influence in France see Th. Süpfle, *Geschichte des deutschen Kultureinflusses auf Frankreich*, Gotha, 1886-88, ii, 1, p. 106 ff.; J. Texte, *Études de littérature européenne*, Paris, 1898, p. 215 ff.; A. Regnier, *Vie de Schiller*, Paris, 1859, Préface, p. ii; F. Baldensperger, *Goethe en France*, Paris, 1904, p. 93 ff. On Schiller in England, the bibliography of Schiller literature by J. P. Anderson, appended to H. W. Nevinson's *Life of Schiller (Great Writers)*, London, 1889, may be consulted. For America, see F. H. Wilkens, *Early Influence of German Literature in America* (*Americana Germanica*, iii, p. 136 ff.); also articles by M. D. Learned and O. C. Schneider in the *Marbacher Schillerbuch*, Stuttgart, 1905, p. 247 ff.

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